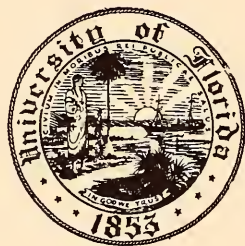





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THE LIFE AND WORKS OF GEORGE PEELE

VOLUME 2

CHARLES TYLER PROUTY

GENERAL EDITOR



The Dramatic Works of  
GEORGE PEELE

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EDWARD I

*edited by Frank S. Hook*

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THE BATTLE OF ALCAZAR

*edited by John Yoklavich*

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# EDWARD I

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

In its original form this edition was a dissertation presented to the faculty of the Department of English, Yale University, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the doctoral degree. In the intervening years the editorial sections have been subjected to more alterations than Peele made in the play itself, and I hope that my revisions have been more successful than his.

To Professor Prouty, a long-time friend and the general editor of the three-volume edition, I owe more than can be expressed in a brief sentence. I am grateful also for the assistance of Helge Kökeritz and Eugene Waith of Yale University; E. B. Everitt of Texas Lutheran College; and J. Burke Severs and Carl Strauch, my colleagues at Lehigh. To them must go some of the credit for the virtues of my edition; its faults are my own. For its generous assistance with the production costs of this volume, thankful acknowledgment is extended to the Ford Foundation.

The text of *Edward I* is reproduced with the permission of the Bodleian Library from its copy of the first quarto. The photograph of the title page of the first quarto and the text of *The lamentable fall of Queene Elnor* are reproduced with the permission of the Huntington Library from copies in its possession.

F. S. H.

*Lehigh University*  
*February 1961*

## ABBREVIATIONS AND SHORT TITLES

The following works are referred to by the last name of the author or editor:

- ARBER, EDWARD, ed., *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London. 1554-1640 A.D.*, 5 vols., London, 1875-94.
- CHAMBERS, E. K., *The Elizabethan Stage*, 4 vols., Oxford, 1923.
- CHEFFAUD, P. H., *George Peele (1558-1596?)*, Paris, 1913.
- CHILD, FRANCIS J., ed., *The English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, 5 vols., New York, 1883-98.
- COOPER, THOMAS, *Thesaurus linguae Romanae & Britannicae*, 1565.
- DANIEL, P. A., Notes included in Bullen's edition (See B, below).
- DEIGHTON, K., *The Old Dramatists: Conjectural Readings*, Westminster, 1896.
- FLEAY, F. G., *A Biographical Chronicle of the English Drama 1559-1642*, 2 vols., London, 1891.
- FRANZ, WILHELM, *Shakespeare-Grammatik*, 3d ed., Heidelberg, 1924.
- GRAFTON, RICHARD, *A Chronicle at large and meere History of the affayres of Englande . . .*, London, 1569.
- HOLINSHED, RAPHAEL, *The Chronicles of England, from William the Conqueror . . . untill the yeare 1577 . . . And continued from the yeare 1577. untill this present yeare of Grace 1585*, London, 1587.
- HORNE, DAVID H., *The Life and Minor Works of George Peele*, New Haven, 1952.
- KÖKERITZ, HELGE, *Shakespeare's Pronunciation*, New Haven, 1953.
- KRONEBERG, ERICH, *George Peele's Edward the First*, Jena, 1903.
- MITFORD, JOHN, "The Early English Drama," *Gentleman's Magazine*, 103 (1883), 99-104.
- NARES, ROBERT, *A Glossary*, ed. J. O. Halliwell and T. Wright, 2 vols., London, 1859.

SMITH, G. C. M., "George Peele," *Notes and Queries*, 117 (7 March, 1908), 181-182.

THIEME, WILHELM, *Peele's Edward I und seine Quellen*, Halle, 1903.

#### SHORT TITLES:

*Diary*     *Henslowe's Diary*, ed. W. W. Greg, 2 vols., London, 1904-08.

*Papers*     *Henslowe Papers, Being Documents Supplementary to Henslowe's Diary*, ed. W. W. Greg, London, 1907.

#### ABBREVIATIONS:

B     *The Works of Peele*, ed. A. H. Bullen, 2 vols., London, 1888.  
C     *Edward I*, ed. J. P. Collier, in Vol. 11 of [Robert Dodsley,] *A Select Collection of Old Plays*, new ed., 13 vols., London, 1825-33.

Dyce 2     *The Works of Peele*, ed. Alexander Dyce, 2d ed., 3 vols., London, 1829-39.

Dyce 3     *The Dramatic and Poetical Works of Robert Greene & George Peele*, ed. Alexander Dyce, London, 1861, rep. 1874.

Dyce +     Indicates concurrence of both Dyce editions.

F     Folger Shakespeare Library copy of Q1.

H     Henry E. Huntington Library copy of Q1.

L     British Museum copy of Q1 (C.34.d.52).

O     Bodleian Library copy of Q1.

MSR     Malone Society Reprint.

OED     Oxford English Dictionary.

Q1     Quarto of 1593.

Q2     Quarto of 1599.

References to Shakespeare are to the Yale edition. For Marlowe I have used the Case edition. Peele's minor works and *The Battle of Alcazar* are cited from Volume 1 and the present volume of the Yale edition; his other plays and the plays of Greene are cited from the Malone Society Reprints.

# INTRODUCTION

## I. AUTHORSHIP, DATE, AND STAGE HISTORY

Peele's authorship of *Edward I* has never been seriously challenged. His name does not appear on the title page, but a curious *explicit* at the end of the play (sig. L3<sup>v</sup>) reads: "*Yours. By George Peele Maister of / Artes in Oxenford.*" Peele was evidently sufficiently proud of his Oxford degree to make it part of a characteristic subscription to his compositions. It accompanies his name on the title pages of the printed versions of *A Farewell* (1589), *An Eclogue Gratulatory* (1589), *Descensus Astraeae* (1591), *The Honour of the Garter* (1593), and the second edition of *A Tale of Troy* (1604); on the verso of the title page of *Polyhymnia* (1590); and, perhaps most significant of all, on the title page of the holograph of *Anglorum Feriae* (1595).

The date of the play, however, is less certain. Abel Jeffes made entry in the *Stationers' Register* on October 8, 1593 (Arber, 2. 637):

Entred for his Copie vnder th[e h]andes of bothe the wardens  
an enterlude entituled *the Chronicle of Kinge EDWARD the  
FIRSTE surnamed LONGESHANK with his Retourne  
out of the Holye Lande, with the lyfe of LEUBLEN* [i.e.  
LLEWELLYN] *Rebell in Wales with [t]he synkinge of  
Queene ELINOUR . . . vj<sup>a</sup>*

The first quarto is dated 1593.

Historians of the drama have generally agreed on 1590 or 1591 as the date of production, but no definitive evidence supports this conjecture. In his efforts to establish the date, Cheffaud (p. 87, n. 2) cites parallels with *Polyhymnia*, but even if one accepts

them, they prove only that on occasion Peele repeated himself. Nor do the undeniable parallels with *Edward II* help (see below, notes to ll. 91, 880, 2519), for while it is always assumed that Peele and not Marlowe was the borrower, one cannot be sure; the exact date of *Edward II* is uncertain (though historians seem generally agreed on a conjectural date of late 1591, with production in the following year).

A *terminus a quo* for the composition of *Edward I* is provided by a historical allusion first noted by Cheffaud (p. 87). In the opening scene the Queen Mother announces (ll. 22–24) that

Her [England's] neighbor realmes as  
Scotland, Denmarke, France,  
Aude with their deedes, and jealous of her armes,  
Have begd defensive and offensive leagues.

No such alliance is mentioned in the chronicles of Edward's reign, but late in 1589 France did propose a mutual defense pact with England. According to Camden, "The King of Navarre being reduced to these Streights, encamped with his Forces near the Town, and dispatched in all Haste into England . . . to crave Aid of the Queen, and to offer a League as well offensive as defensive."<sup>1</sup> Although there is no possibility of borrowing here, the verbal similarity is striking enough to suggest that dramatist and historian are talking about the same league. The proposed defense pact, which was not formally entered into at that time by the English government, might have been called the Protestant league, intended as it was to oppose the Catholic league. The French plan would evidently have welcomed any of the Protestant countries of Europe which cared to join.

Cheffaud suggests that Peele's coupling here of Denmark and Scotland with France results from the marriage of James VI of Scotland to Anne of Denmark in 1589 and the simultaneous election of the French and Scottish monarchs to the Order of St. George in the following year. There is, however, an explanation for linking these three countries which not only is less ingenious but also allows us to shorten by nearly a year the period in which the play

1. William Camden, *The History of the Most Renowned and Victorious Princess Elizabeth, Late Queen of England* (3d ed., London, 1675), p. 436.

must have been written. On June 1, 1590 Charles Boyd, a loyal Catholic of Scotland, wrote to the King of Spain that on March 26 James had received from the King of Denmark a letter concerning his agreement to support the Scottish king's pretensions to the English crown. Boyd said further that James had already sent a representative to the Queen to offer an alliance of Scotland and Denmark against Spain if the Queen would acknowledge him her heir and have allegiance sworn him. "He will then defend her against Spain, and after seeing the result of the Armada which they say is being sent to the north, he will send Scottish and Danish ambassadors to treat for a peace between the allied powers of England, Scotland, and Denmark, and the king of Spain. . . . The prince of Navarre (i.e. Henry IV) will also enter into the confederacy." <sup>2</sup> Boyd's validity as an informant is attested by references in the *Calendar of State Papers (Scotland)* during May 1590 to a conference about the projected league between England, Scotland, France, and Denmark.<sup>3</sup> Since there were no comparable negotiations during the reign of Edward I, it is virtually certain that Peele is alluding to the diplomatic maneuvers of early 1590. May or June of that year, therefore, is the earliest date for the composition of the play.

Another allusion proposed by Cheffaud (p. 88) is inadmissible. Just before the reference to the proposed league, the Queen Mother proudly demands (ll. 16-21):

What warlike nation traind in feates of armes,  
What barbarous people, stubborne or untaind,  
What climate under the Meridian signes,  
Or frozen Zone under his brumall stage,  
Erst have not quaked and trembled at the name  
Of Britaine, and hir mightie Conquerours?

2. *Calendar of Letters and State Papers Relating to English Affairs Preserved in, or Originally Belonging to, the Archives of Simancas*, ed. Martin A. S. Hume (London, 1892-99), 4, 581.

3. *Calendar of the State Papers, Relating to Scotland, Preserved in the State Paper Department of Her Majesty's Public Record Office*, ed. Markham J. Thorpe (London, 1858), 2, 574-575. Further references to the discussions will probably come to light when the State Papers Foreign for 1590 are published.

These lines Cheffaud would have refer to the power of Queen Elizabeth as a mediator, described thus by Camden (pp. 441-442):

The Glory of Queen Elizabeth was now spred abroad, and her reputation extended far, having obtained of the Emperour of the Turks Rest and Quiet for the Vavod of Moldavia, who had been miserably plagued and turmoiled by the Turks, and a Peace for the Polonians, who were threatned by them with a sharp and dangerous War: Which good Service the Polonian and his Chancellour afterward acknowledged by most thankfull Letters to her.

Since the time is 1590, accepting the allusion would pose no difficulty for the conjectural dating, but the Queen Mother speaks of warlike activity, not the prowess of the peace table. A eulogy of British military might seems more appropriate as praise for Edward's victories in foreign fields than for Elizabeth's services as arbitrator. Moreover, Peele is imitating directly a passage from Marlowe (see below, pp. 50-51).

Still another allusion affords no assistance in establishing the date of the play. Because there is no historical basis for Edward's establishment of his "colledge" for wounded soldiers (ll. 117 ff.), Thieme (p. 27) suggests that this scene is a means of flattering Queen Elizabeth, who after the Armada honored her soldiers, "and those that were wounded and indigent she relieved with noble Pensions" (Camden, p. 418; see Cheffaud, p. 86). However, commending the foundation of a charitable institution seems a far-fetched method of complimenting the Queen for her generosity in granting pensions. No comparable institution was founded in England either during the reign of Edward I or during the period immediately preceding the composition of the play. However, in 1587, while he was commanding English forces in the Low Countries, the Earl of Leicester in the name of Elizabeth established in Amsterdam a hospital for sick and wounded English soldiers. The hospital became a part of the Gasthuis, a large group of buildings, some of them monastic in origin, devoted to various charitable purposes.<sup>4</sup> If Peele is here alluding to this foundation, the reference

4. Filips von Zesen, *Beschreibung der Stadt Amsterdam* (1664), p. 326: "Das andere aber nähmlich das Soldaten-Gasthaus hat die Englische Königin

offers no aid in dating the play, but it does further Horne's speculation (p. 100) that Peele was active in some campaign in the Low Countries.

There may be more in this episode than compliment; Peele may be more interested in what should be done than in what actually has been done. The emphasis on generosity to soldiers and veterans is in ironic contrast to the way the fighting forces in the Netherlands were actually treated. Leicester's reports, summarized in the *Calendar of State Papers (Foreign)*, show amply the suffering of the soldiers; they were not paid on time, and their living conditions were deplorable. Likewise, the Acts of the Privy Council for the period after 1590, when soldiers began returning from Willoughby's expedition to France, demonstrate that care of wounded veterans was becoming an increasingly embarrassing problem for Elizabeth's government. Read in the light of these contemporary documents, this scene takes on a bitterly ironic note. Horne (pp. 100 ff.) shows that Peele, whether actually a soldier or not, probably had an intense personal interest in soldiers' pay.

Accepting the allusion to the proposed Protestant league as certain does not allow us to fix the date of the play more exactly than between mid-1590 and 1593, nor does it necessarily provide documentary support for the usual date of 1590 or 1591. Like those who date by parallel passages, scholars who date by historical allusion are prone to what might be called the fallacy of proximity: that the allusion must follow hard upon the event. In some instances this may be the case, but an Armada reference generally means no more than after 1588, and the same principle applies to the projected

---

Elisabet als sie diese vereinigte Länder unter ihre beschirmung genommen oder viehlmehr ihr Stathalter in denselben der Graf von Leizester des Herzogs von Northumberland sohn in der Königin nahmen vor die kranken und verwundeten armen kriegsleute im 1587 jahre gestiftet: wiewohl es itzund die kranken Männer besitzen." Evidently the Gasthuis was a great tourist attraction in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Fynes Morison visited it in November, 1592 (*An Itinerary*, 1617, 1, 44); he describes various sections of the alms house and mentions "fifty two beds made for the auxiliary Soulders of *England*," but he does not refer to the founding by Leicester. Evelyn visited the Gasthuis in August, 1641 (*The Diary of John Evelyn*, ed. de Beer, Oxford, 1955, 2, 45; see especially note 6 and p. 43, note 2).

leagues. Certainly these diplomatic proposals should have been good for at least three years as a basis for allusions, particularly since it is not necessary to understand the specific details behind the reference in order to appreciate the real point—the jingoistic exaltation of Britain.

One complex problem connected with the source materials suggests that the date of composition was as late as 1592 or early 1593. Some details seem to be drawn from Stow's *Annales* (1592).<sup>5</sup> In the play Roger Mortimer is the king's henchman and chief general in the Welsh rebellions; it is he who brings the head of Lluellen to the king. However, only Stow (pp. 301–302) among the chroniclers gives Mortimer this honor; elsewhere his brother Edmund is the leader of the English forces at the downfall of Lluellen. Peele gives Mortimer's first name only twice in the play (ll. 1442, 2649), and his choice of Roger may have been an error, easy enough for a writer who treated history as freely as Peele did, or it may have been a deliberate combination of the two brothers into one character. Yet Stow does provide authority for the use of Roger as Lluellen's antagonist. In this same chronicle (p. 304) Peele could have found the name Rice ap Meridith, which he adapted as Meredith; other chronicles have Mordack or Meridoc. Most interesting of all is the insistence of the Welsh soldiers (scene 5) that they shall have no prince but one who is a Welshman born; to comply with this demand, Edward sends for his pregnant Queen to come into Wales, and after Edward of Carnarvon (later Edward II) is

5. John Stow, *The Annales of England, faithfully collected out of the most autentically Authors, Records, and other Monuments of Antiquitie, from the first inhabitation untill this present yeere 1592*. Thieme (p. 8) and Kroneberg (p. 13) say they used an edition of Stow's *Annales* of 1631, first printed in 1580, but this seems to be an error. They evidently used *Annales, or a Generall Chronicle of England. Begun by Iohn Stow: Continued and Augmented with matters Forraigne and Domestique, Ancient and Moderne, vnto the end of this present yeere, 1631*. By Edmund Howe, Gent. This work is an extended form of what Stow published in the 1592 edition cited above (see his explanation for publishing the shorter version first in the introductory letter to the 1592 *Annales*, sig. a2). The work published in 1580 was *The Chronicles of England, from Brute vnto this present yeare of Christ. 1580*, which bears little resemblance either to the 1592 or the 1631 *Annales*. The error was natural enough for writers to make when they had neither the original works nor the STC to consult.

born, he is presented to the Welsh barons as their prince. Stow relates this story in detail (pp. 302–303).

However, any final decision is precluded by the almost verbatim repetition of the account of Edward's circumvention of the Welsh demands for a native prince in David Powel's *Historie of Cambria, now called Wales* (1584; reprinted 1811, pp. 275–276), and in this same work Rice's name is spelled Meredyth (p. 277), although in Powel's account Roger Mortimer bears no part in the final defeat of Lluellen (p. 273). These latter details might possibly have come from Stow's *Chronicle* (1580), where Roger Mortimer is active against Lluellen (p. 301) and the spelling Merideth appears (p. 303), but this earlier work by Stow does not give the account of the Prince's birth at Carnarvon. The evidence seems to allow alternative conclusions: either Peele used Stow's *Annales*, in which case the play must be dated late 1592 or 1593; or he consulted both Powel's *Historie of Cambria* and Stow's *Chronicle*, in which case the source materials would be of no assistance in dating the play.

Between August 29, 1595, and July 9, 1596, Henslowe records fourteen performances of a play called *longshanckes* (characteristically spelled in six different ways and once called *prynce longshankes*), which is almost certainly Peele's *Edward I* (*Diary*, 1, 24–25, 27–28, 30, 42). Longshanks is a name used for no one but Edward I, and no other play is known to have been written about that monarch. Furthermore, an inventory of the properties belonging to the Admiral's Men, taken March 10, 1598, records among the items "Gone and loste" one "longe-shanckes sewte" (*Papers*, p. 113). Evidently the lost costume was speedily located, for another inventory made three days later reports, "Item, j Longeshankes seute" (*Papers*, p. 121). If this piece of apparel were nothing more distinctive than a royal robe, there would be no reason for identifying it with the Longshanks role, but a special garment is called for in Peele's play, and it seems reasonable to assume that the "Longeshankes seute" of the inventory is the "sute of Glasse" worn by Edward in scene 3 of Peele's play. This identification is widely accepted.<sup>6</sup>

6. J. P. Collier, *The History of English Dramatic Poetry to the Time of Shakespeare: and Annals of the Stage to the Restoration* (2d ed., London, 1879), 2, 484; Fleay, 2, 304, refers to the play as a "mended version";

Investment in *Longshanks* was profitable for the Admiral's Men. Chambers (2, 148), basing his figures on a study of Henslowe's records from December 1594 to July 1597, sets the usual run at six to seventeen performances; during this three-year period only five plays produced an average above 34s. *Longshanks* was played fourteen times; the average receipt was 30s. 6d. For six performances (August 29, September 10, 30, October 21, November 9, 1595, and June 2, 1596) the receipts were higher than the weekly average, and on two occasions (September 10, 1595, and June 2, 1596) *Longshanks* brought in as much as any play during the week. Receipts for the other performances were 3s. to 8s. below the weekly average, except for February 5, 1595/6, when *Longshanks* produced only 14s., although the weekly average was 30s. This unusually low amount is more likely a comment on London weather than on the play.

Henslowe's mark "ne" after the first recorded performance of *Longshanks* on August 29, 1595, raises the interesting speculation that this was the London premiere and therefore that *Edward I* was published before it was produced. The mark itself may mean simply a first performance by the Admiral's Men or even a first performance of a revised version (*Diary*, 2, 148). But if one is willing—as not all scholars are (see p. 45)—to assume that the play was from the beginning in Alleyn's possession and that it was written as late as 1592, a date for which we have seen some evidence, the August, 1595, performance was certainly a premiere, for Henslowe lists in detail the repertoire from February, 1592, until the recorded performances of *Longshanks*. If one assumes the earliest

---

Greg (*Diary*, 2, 176) accepts it as a mutilated version which "may have been cut down for country performance during the plague of 1592-3." Chambers (3, 461) says, "unless there had been substantial revision, [it] can hardly be Peele's play," but in the following year in his British Academy Lecture, "The Disintegration of Shakespeare," he says, "When Henslowe marks *Longshanks* in his diary as n.e., we need not suppose that we have to do with anything but a recast of Peele's *Edward I*" (p. 20). This insistence on revision is not explained, but I assume these writers to mean that the extant text would hardly be suitable for acting because the ending is muddled. In any discussion of *Edward I* as an acting play, I also assume a text corrected sufficiently to be intelligible, but this need not imply revision in the usual sense of the word (see below, p. 39).

possible date of composition (May, 1590), the play might have been presented between November, 1590, and May, 1591, when the combined Admiral's-Strange's companies were playing at the Theatre, or perhaps during a summer season in 1591 at the Rose (Chambers, 2, 120, 136, 392; 4, 105).

On August 13, 1599, William White entered the play for the second edition (Arber, 3, 146):

William white. Entred for his copies (*saluo Jure cuiuscunque*)  
by assignement from Abell Jeffes . . . ED-  
WARD [surnamed] LONGSHANKES . . .

This is a multiple entry that includes also *The Spanish Tragedy* and three other works. The second quarto, which was set from a printed copy of the 1593 edition, is dated 1599.

A final entry appears a year later, August 14, 1600 (Arber, 3, 169):

Thomas Pavyer. Entred for his Copyes by Direction of master  
white warden vnder his hand wrytinge.  
These Copyes followinge beinge thinges  
formerlye printed and sett over to the sayd  
Thomas Pavyer . . .  
An Interlude Called EDWARD [III. sur-  
named] LONGE SHANKES . . . vj<sup>a</sup>

Arber evidently erred here in inserting "III," for there is no reason to assume that a play called *Edward Longshankes* is anything but Peele's *Edward I*, particularly since this entry, like that of the previous year, also includes *The Spanish Tragedy* among a group of twelve works. If Pavier ever printed *Edward I*, no copy has survived.

## 2. SOURCE MATERIALS

An unusually fertile season for research on *Edward I* was 1903, for almost simultaneously in that year two independent studies of the sources were published: Wilhelm Thieme's *Peele's Edward I und seine Quellen* and Erich Kroneberg's *George Peele's Edward the First*. The diligence of these young scholars very nearly settled

the problem of what raw materials went into the play, but unfortunately they left untouched the important matter of Peele's transformation of the stuff of history and folklore into a piece for the stage. Although some new details have been added, what follows is primarily an extension of the results of their valuable investigation, focusing on Peele's use of his sources.

The play falls into three distinct sections, each of which has its own group of source materials: the historical events, the Greenwood sequence, and the vilification of Queen Elinor. Peele was a university man, and it would not be surprising to learn that he had at one time or another read through much of the historical literature published before he wrote *Edward I*. Methods of sixteenth-century historiographers being what they were, most of the incidents found in later chronicles can be duplicated in the work of earlier writers; therefore, no work to which the author might have had access can be ruled out as a possible source. On the other hand, by examining details we can with some assurance fix on a group of works he must certainly have known. Four, or possibly five, chronicles provide the essential matter for *Edward I*, and in each instance some unique detail proves the use of the particular work.

Except for a few minor yet revealing points the raw information used by Peele was supplied by Grafton's *A Chronicle at large and meere History of the affayres of England* (1569) and Holinshed's *Chronicles of England* (1587). The two chronicles are generally iterative rather than complementary, but the December fourteenth date for the coronation comes from Grafton (p. 162), and Morgain Pigot's prophecy is based on a paragraph in Holinshed, where it is attributed to "an old woman taken for a southsaier" (p. 282). Two details at least are drawn from Thomas Walsingham's *Historia Brevis* (1574).<sup>7</sup> The account of Elinor de Montfort's capture may come from Holinshed; at least his report that Elinor was "taken by foure ships of Bristow" (p. 278) finds its parallel in Peele's text in l. 593, but Walsingham also says that she was captured by "quatuor nauibus Bristollensibus," and he is the only chronicler to mention

7. Walsingham's account of Edward I is a plagiarism from Nicholas Trevet, *Annales sex regum Angliae*, which, except for Walsingham's extracts, remained in manuscript until Hall's edition of 1719; we may assume that Walsingham's printed version was Peele's source.

that Elinor was living with her exiled family at Montargis (p. 6; cf. l. 595). Further, only Walsingham mentions the death of Edward's son during his father's absence in the Holy Land, to which Edward and the Queen Mother refer in ll. 55 ff. This is not merely an isolated detail in Walsingham's account; considerable point is made of the fact that Edward wept more at hearing of his father's death than at the news of his son's demise, because, as he is reported to have said, "Jactura . . . filiorum facilis est, cū quotidie multiplicentur: Parentum verò mors irremediabilis est, quia nequeunt restaurari" (p. 3).

Peele's use of Stow has already been discussed (p. 6), and there is a suggestion of an acquaintance with a fifth chronicle when the Queen Mother speaks (ll. 5-6) of

The poore remainer of the royall Fleete,  
Preserv'd by miracle in Sicill Roade.

Only the *Flores Historiarum Per Matthaeum Westmonasteriensem* (1570) mentions (p. 349) the miraculous aspects of the preservation of Edward's ships in a great storm outside the harbor of Tripoli as he was enroute to Sicily. No other element of the play need depend upon this particular work.

The evidence suggests that Peele, having selected his subject, set about his work by reading several of the most recent and popular books giving an account of the reign of *Edward I*. The dramatist's first task was that of excising the material he did not need for his play, and this he did with a skillful hand. The play gives no hint of the constant rivalry, diplomatic and military, that marked Edward's relations with France and the Church; nor is there any indication of his incessant and generally successful campaign against the political power of the feudal barons. Peele found ready aid in his chronicle sources for this excision; Grafton omits nearly all the discord with the French, and neither he nor Holinshed gives a clear account of Edward's domestic embroilments. The result of this severe cutting is to portray Edward only as the victorious conqueror of Wales and Scotland; and to show him triumphant over Scotland, Peele closes his play at a point some ten years before the monarch's death, when he has for the moment vanquished his foes, though the

final decade of the reign was marked by constant warfare against the Scots.

In order to see what Peele did with the comparatively small group of historical events that he elected to use, it will be necessary to outline the pertinent years of Edward's reign as Peele apparently saw them from his reading. While Prince Edward was absent from England on a Crusade, his father, Henry III, died in 1272, having first appointed the Earl of Gloucester to rule the realm until his son's return. Edward, now King Edward I, made a triumphal return to England in August, 1274, and was crowned later that month (Holinshed, p. 277; Grafton, p. 162, gives December 14 as the coronation date). At the coronation Alexander III, King of Scotland and brother-in-law to Edward, did homage for his realm. Lluellen, a prince of Wales, was summoned likewise to do homage, but he refused to come. In the following year Lluellen attempted to ally himself with France by arranging with the French king to marry Elinor de Montfort, who had been living in exile at Montargis after the death of her father, the famed Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester and leader of the opposition during the Barons' Wars of Henry III's reign. As Elinor, accompanied by her brother Emerick (Holinshed, p. 278, Walsingham, p. 6; Grafton, p. 163, calls him Henry), was on her way to Wales, she was taken prisoner by an English fleet and sent captive to Edward. Angered by the king's interference, Lluellen attacked the Marches, but Edward took the field and forced him to submit. As part of the peace arrangements Edward paid the expenses for the marriage of Elinor to Lluellen in 1278. Elinor died in 1282, and shortly thereafter Lluellen was joined in a new uprising by his brother David, who had been a favorite in the English court. This time the king pursued the rebels into Snowdon, heart of the Welsh fastnesses, and, after a brilliant campaign attended by defeats for the English, saw the downfall of rebellion when Lluellen was killed at Orewin Bridge and his brother was captured and executed. In 1284 Prince Edward, later Edward II, was born at Carnarvon.

The death of Alexander III in 1286 left Scotland under the rule of a regency in the name of his granddaughter, the Maid of Norway, until her death in 1290. In 1287, while Edward was absent on the Continent, a new rebellion under Rice ap Meredith broke out in

Wales, ending with the capture of Rice in the following year. In 1290 Joan of Acon married Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester, and in the same year Queen Elinor died, to the great grief of her consort and the entire realm.

After the death of the Maid of Norway, the Scottish throne was claimed by nine contenders, chief among whom were John de Balliol, Lord of Galloway, and Robert le Bruce. These nobles called upon Edward, as feudal lord of Scotland, to judge their case. At Norham in 1291, where the Scottish lords had gathered to swear fealty to Edward, a council of mediators was appointed to consider the question of the succession, and in the following year they announced in favor of John Balliol, who was thereupon crowned.

In 1294-95 a final Welsh uprising, this time under Morgan and Madock, was put down. A Scottish alliance with France in the latter year brought on hostilities between England and Scotland in 1296. After a bloody campaign Balliol asked for peace; he was forced to renounce his throne and was dispatched to London, where he was kept in the Tower, though not actually confined as a prisoner. Scotland was ruled by a regency appointed by Edward. The remaining ten years of the reign were marked by a series of violent engagements with Scottish rebels under William Wallace and Robert Bruce. It was during one of these Scottish expeditions that Edward died in 1307.

The events which Peele chronicles in his play occupied a period of twenty-two years, from Edward's return to England in 1274 until Balliol's defeat in 1296. Here, as in all history plays, the actual time span is too great and the range of incidents too varied to be comprehensible on the stage in simple chronological order. Elizabethan dramatists evolved methods of giving the impression at once of swift action and yet of the passage of sufficient time to make that action credible. They telescoped, they rearranged, they reorganized. In other words, they remolded an episodic into a dramatic structure.

Peele recognized the problem and tackled it manfully. The first three scenes of *Edward I*, which get the main plots under way, portray events which actually were separated by some eighteen years, but in the interest of dramatic structure they are brought together as roughly contemporary. Edward's return from the Holy

Land and his coronation (1274), the outbreak of Lluellen's rebellion upon the capture of Elinor (1275), and the succession of Balliol to the Scottish throne (1292) provide the starting point for a comprehensible account of Edward's career as conqueror of Wales and Scotland. Furthermore, Peele melds three Welsh insurrections into one and portrays the combined front of Lluellen-David-Meredith in solid opposition to English rule, although David joined his brother only in the second rebellion (1282), and Meredith's uprising was an entirely independent one five years after the death of David and Lluellen. Peele is here groping toward a genuinely dramatic presentation of history; his partial success represents a tremendous advance over the purely episodic structure of an old play like *The Famous Victories of Henry the Fifth*, though it is still a far cry from the nearly contemporary *Edward II* of Marlowe.

In his treatment of the Welsh rebellion Peele depends very little on historical detail, but he does seize upon the two elements which, although of minor historical significance, are potentially the most dramatic—the capture of Elinor and the treachery of David. Although Lluellen has already laid his plans for rebellion, both in the historical account and in the play it is Elinor's capture that sets off the actual fighting. But Peele's emphasis differs from that of the historians. Historically the union of Lluellen and Elinor was a political marriage contracted as a means of cementing Welsh relations with France and securing an ally against England. The seizure of Elinor thus was a political insult and a hindrance to Welsh diplomatic strategy. Peele gives no hint of the political issues; his Lluellen is an ardent lover, who rises in response to the capture of his beloved.

Grafton (p. 164) calls David a spy, but the chronicles show him in action only in the final rebellion, which ended with the death of the brothers in 1282. Peele puts his spy to excellent dramatic use by making him the means of saving Elinor from captivity. The scene in which Edward is tricked into handing over his hostage for the traitor is the most effective in the play, coming as the culmination of the careful preparation of two earlier scenes. It is pure invention, but Peele is at his best here in building these hints from the sources into a dramatic sequence.

Unfortunately, with this scene Peele had nearly exhausted the dramatic potentialities of this phase of the Welsh rebellion, and neither his invention nor his source material came to his aid. Now that the plotting of his play had maneuvered him into showing his contending parties at peace, the author's next task was to get Lluellen into the field again. This he accomplished in scene 7 simply by having Lluellen appear as an outcast from the "good towns" and ready to become an inhabitant of the Greenwood; what brought on this new state of hostilities between Lluellen and Edward is never explained. The completely unhistorical pursuit of Elinor by Mortimer and David's subsequent appearances at court provide the only thread of continuity. What little forward movement this sequence contains is directed toward the scene of personal combat between Lluellen and Edward, and once that scene is finished, Peele's invention flags again. He returns momentarily to his historical sources for the death of Lluellen at Orewin Bridge, but he fails to prepare his audience for the rebel's downfall. David's capture is as casually introduced. After the scene of personal combat the Welsh rebellions are disposed of in less than 200 lines, an altogether disproportionate length for the climax of what gave every evidence of being the major plot of the play.

Peele's reluctance to offer any detailed account of the English campaign against the Welsh is paralleled in his treatment of Scottish affairs. The chronicles tell us that Alexander III did homage to Edward at his coronation, but Peele skips over that monarch entirely for events of a decade later and has the Scottish crown bestowed upon John Balliol at the time of Edward's coronation. In itself this is an excellent dramatic device, for it gives the author an opportunity to present events in Scotland contemporaneously with the Welsh rebellions and thus add complexity to his plot. In surer hands this dual plot could have been successful, but Peele's treatment of Edward's Scottish difficulties is extremely perfunctory. Balliol is crowned, he rebels, he is captured—all in about 270 lines. There is no attempt to make any of the Scottish plot comprehensible by adequate motivation. Evidence suggesting that this section originally occupied a more proportionate part of the play is examined below (p. 33).

It is apparent that Peele actually employed very little of the

historical information at hand. He made an excellent beginning, but after the first third of the play he had exhausted his initial impetus and began to lose his grasp of the materials. His reluctance to enter into anything like a coherent treatment of the later Welsh rebellion or the Scottish uprising, and indeed even the nature of his successful treatment of the early episodes, suggests that he was not really interested in writing a history play in the usual sense of the term. He carefully avoids any presentation of a military campaign, or even a great battle. The play is marked throughout by a shallowness of political and historical sense.

An interesting contrast can be made with another dramatic portrayal of rebellion involving Welshmen and Scots. In *1 Henry IV* Shakespeare devotes several scenes to detailing the political events which result in the Percy uprising, and then just before the battle of Shrewsbury the whole case is recapitulated. However fascinating the individual characters, however enthralling the personal conflict between Hal and Hotspur, Shakespeare never forgets that he is writing a history play depicting great political forces locked in deadly combat. The motivation of the action is complex, but it enriches his play. Peele takes the easy way and shuns political issues for affronted love. This is the most economical of motivations because it is universally understood without undue analysis, and it has therefore become a part of the popular writer's stock-in-trade in all ages. Peele's source material is no doubt partly responsible for his choice; Holinshed does not outline so clearly the issues of difference between Wales and Edward's England as he does the causes for the Percy uprising, but—more important—Peele seems bent on turning this play from history toward romance.

He is fascinated by "merrie England," that ideal world in which lovers assume more importance than mere battles and political theories. His King and Queen are in their personal relations more brawling and hearty than regal. Ned Longshanks and his lovely Nell are inhabitants of a land where a Greenwood with Robin Hood and his band seems perfectly natural. This is the stuff of balladry, not history. Peele's transformation of Lluellen into an ardent lover is only another indication of this concern with romance, as is the introduction of the stricken Mortimer to form a triangle. The same tendency is apparent in the depiction of Joan and Gloucester. Out of

the bare chronicle report of their marriage Peele has fashioned a tale of youthful love and courtship, culminating in a marriage which is removed from its historical time to coincide with the christening of Prince Edward, an event that actually took place some six years earlier. How far he was from the truth Peele probably did not suspect, for his sources did not inform him that the King compelled Gloucester to divorce his first wife and marry Joan, so that future heirs to the Gloucester estates would show more fidelity to the crown. Nor did they tell him how Joan later avenged herself for the enforced marriage by taking advantage of the freedom afforded by Gloucester's death to select a man of her choice and have Gloucester's title bestowed upon him over the protests of her father.

The romantic atmosphere investing his play and Peele's propensity for portraying history as a background for lovers make his choice of the Greenwood motif a natural selection. As a subplot the Greenwood serves him well, even though no real action is involved. Some of the best writing in the play is found in Friar David's prose, and the crew of comic characters centered about him maintains a tone that at once relieves the more somber aspects of the play and complements the jovial scenes between the royal pair, except of course those sections detailing Elinor's pride.

The use of the Greenwood plot is less successful when it becomes closely intermingled with the main plot through the Lluellen-Mortimer-Elinor triangle. This intimate relationship, which should assist in tightening the loose structure, actually contributes to the play's failure. The unmotivated assumption of the Robin Hood disguise can be accepted without too much question, but the attendant difficulty is insurmountable. Since the principal members of the band are all in disguise, they cannot enter completely into the spirit of the world into which they are thrust. Lluellen, though a lover and though Robin Hood, is still a rebel and is therefore the villain of the piece. He must be brought to his ignominious end, but it is an end out of harmony with the Robin Hood character he assumes. The Greenwood is saved by Friar David, who can be a complete success because he is not in disguise; he has no further function to fulfill.

Although Peele was probably familiar with the chronicle accounts of the "most gentle theefe" (Grafton, pp. 84-85; Holinshed,

*Description of Ireland*, p. 24), the source for the Robin Hood material in the play is to be sought rather in folklore and balladry. Peele's adaptation of the adventures of Robin Hood and Little John reveals an acquaintance with the ballad cycles, while Maid Marian and Friar Tuck, who were originally partners, come from the May Day plays, where they were a late introduction into the tales of the Greenwood (Child, 3, 122). The "booke of Robin Hood" which Lluellen buys in Brecknocke (l. 1176), if we admit an anachronism, may have been *A mery geste of Robyn Hoode and of hys lyfe, wyth a newe playe for to be played in Maye games very plesaunte and full of pastyme* (ca. 1561), which shares a number of motifs with *Edward I*. The *Geste* puts the narrated events into the time of a King Edward, whom Child (3, 51-52) identifies as Edward I by references to statutes of that monarch's reign. The *Geste* describes a personal contest (at archery) between the King and the outlaw, somewhat like the Greenwood combat between Edward and Lluellen. The "newe playe," which appears at the end of the *Geste*, is a primitively dramatized version of two ballads. In the first of these, "Robin Hood and the Potter" (Child, No. 121), as well as in the dramatized version, Robin Hood demands a payment of toll from the Potter, reminding us of the "passage kept in Wales" and Mortimer's disguise as a potter in *Edward I*.

Another common motif in Robin Hood lore, which also appears in Peele's play, is the outlaw's defeat at the hands of one who is later invited to join the band (Child, Nos. 123-128, 130, 131). Most ballads on this theme are late imitations, but one of the earliest and best, "Robin Hood and the Curtal Friar," also appears in dramatic form at the end of the *Geste*, where the Friar is named Tuck. In the dramatized version Robin Hood after the contest invites Friar Tuck to join his band and offers him a "lady free" as inducement (*Geste*, sig. H4<sup>v</sup>):

Robyn hode.

How sayest thou frere wylt thou be my man  
 To do me the best seruyse thou can  
 Thou shalt haue both golde and fee  
 And also here is a Lady free  
 I wyll geue her vnto the

And her chapplayn I the make  
To serue her for my sake

Fryer

Here is an huckle duckle an inch aboue y<sup>e</sup> buckle  
She is a trul of trust, to serue a frier at his lust  
a prycker a prauncer a terer of shetes  
a wagger of ballockes when other men slepes  
Go home ye knaues and lay crabbes in y<sup>e</sup> fyre  
For my lady & I will daunce in y<sup>e</sup> myre for veri pure ioye.

This acceptance speech, which is omitted in most reprints, relates the Friar closely to Peele's lecherous David ap Tuck, and the "lady free" suggests the trull, Guenthian.

It would be unwise, however, to conclude that in this play and the *Geste* we have a definite source for Peele's play. Much of the Robin Hood material used by Peele is here present or at least implied, but it by no means follows that the *Geste* was employed, like the historical chronicles, as a book source. The widespread popularity of Robin Hood and the paucity of extant material dealing with him suggests that a great body of this folk literature has been lost and that manifold variations of the themes used by Peele once existed. It is not too fanciful even to suggest that a ballad, or more likely a May Day play, once recounted Friar Tuck's venture at dice with St. Francis. But even if we had the entire corpus of Robin Hood literature, there is no reason to assume that we would find the principal source for Peele's play, since the author here was drawing upon traditional material that was common knowledge, stories he had heard recited as a boy, stories he had seen dramatized regularly in the May Day festivities, stories ever changing yet ever the same, for the Robin Hood lore seems to be compounded of variations on a comparatively few themes.

The final section of the play contains the most violent departure from historical fact, one so flagrant that it raises far more fundamental questions about the nature of the text than the utilization of the sources themselves. The section vilifying Queen Elinor is based on two ballads, one of which is *The lamentable fall of Queene Elnor* (see below, p. 206). Eight of the nine extant copies of the ballad

were printed between about 1625 and 1725, but the Huntington Library copy was printed for William Blackwall, who was admitted to the freedom of the Company of Stationers on September 5, 1586 (Arber, 2, 698); his first entry for publication was made February 5, 1588/9 (Arber, 2, 515), and his last on March 1, 1617/8 (Arber, 3, 620). By April 21, 1626, he had been succeeded by his son, George Blackwall (Arber, 4, 159). While there is no entry for *The lamentable fall*, it must have been printed between 1586 and 1626, and the Blackwall edition may, therefore, have been in existence at the time Peele was writing his play. Attempts to ascertain a more specific date by arguing from content seem futile. In the Harvard copy, which was printed by William Dicey and must be dated in the early eighteenth century, a preliminary statement in prose accounts for the ballad as a satire against Queen Mary. This preface is reprinted in *A Collection of Old Ballads* (1726-38). Chappell, in editing the Roxeburghe Collection, discards this explanation for the suggestion that the ballad results from popular opposition to the attempt by James I to marry Prince Henry to the Spanish Infanta. Bullen believes that the ballad stems from the strong anti-Spanish feeling at the time of the Armada. At best such theories are guesswork, but the possibility of an early date for the Huntington copy reinforces what is apparent from a comparison of ballad and play: the ballad antedates Peele's play and was his source.<sup>8</sup>

*The lamentable fall* provides the source for the Queen's desire to have Spanish tailors make her coronation robes (ll. 206 ff.), for the attempt to make "mens beards milt and womens bosoms bleed" (l. 1657), for all the material concerning the Mayoress of London (scenes 3, 10, 15), for the sinking and subsequent resurrection of the Queen (18, 20), and finally for the deathbed confession that one of her children was fathered by a friar (23).

The remarkable similarity of detail leaves no doubt of the close relationship between ballad and play. Every item in the scenes dealing with the Queen's pride finds its parallel in the ballad except Elinor's description of her progress through the streets of

8. An opposing view was presented by Holger Norgaard in *Notes and Queries*, 197 (October 11, 1952), 442-443; see my reply in the same journal, n.s. 3 (January, 1956), 3-5.

Acon, where she walked on tapestries and silks; but the ballad adds far more to the changes of luxury, such as the fact that she had her food boiled in costly wines, that she washed her hands only in dew that had fallen on roses, and that she bathed frequently in fountains filled with milk. However, the precedence of the ballad is evidenced primarily in the account of the maltreatment of the Mayoress, which the ballad gives in detail from its inception on the London streets to its tragic end in Wales. It is made clear that jealousy motivates the murder, and we learn how Elinor forced the woman to come to court, where she stripped her of her fine garb and sent her secretly into Wales to do menial labor as a washerwoman and nursemaid. The entire story, preposterous though it may be, is clear enough in the ballad, but not so in the play. There we are puzzled at the strange reaction of the Queen when she first meets the Mayoress and no less puzzled at the self-styled "maiden-bride" who is celebrating the birth of her first son. Even more surprising is the sudden appearance of the Mayoress in Wales. The text does not make it clear whether she is to be identified with the Nurse, but if she is, it seems strange that the Queen in the murder scene should ask whether she wants to be nurse or laundress. Peele's version is worse than preposterous; it is incoherent, and one suspects that it is introduced primarily as exposition, be it ever so unsatisfactory, for the spectacular sinking and rising of the later scenes. It is much more reasonable to suppose that Peele, attempting to insert in his play the anecdote of the ballad, was unsuccessful in motivating his story than to assume that a ballad writer could work out an adequate tale from the play.<sup>9</sup>

The assault on Queen Elinor's reputation gains support from a second ballad, *Queen Eleanor's Confession, shewing how King Henry with the Earl Martial, in Fryars Habits, came to her instead of two Fryars from France which she sent for* (Child, No. 156), which is an attack on Eleanor of Aquitaine, wife of Henry II, but

9. *Gesta Romanorum*, ed. H. Oesterley (Berlin, 1872), p. 683, §279, app. 83, recounts a tale of a murder similar in concept and execution to the slaying of the Mayoress. While this story is probably somewhere in the background of the ballad, it hardly needs to be considered a source for the play. Cheffaud, p. 92, is the only writer to suggest the possibility, and he was unaware of the early date of the Huntington copy of the ballad.

which Peele could easily adapt to his own purposes. Though extant copies of the ballad are quite late, it seems certain that, like its companion piece, it is at least older than Peele's play. Unlike *The lamentable fall*, which is narrative throughout, *Queen Eleanor's Confession* has a truly popular tone; nearly three-fourths of it in each of the extant versions is dialogue, in which appear the characteristic repetitions and parallel constructions of the popular ballad. Even the existence of six variant versions, two of which were reportedly taken from recitation (Child, No. 156, D and F), argues for its popular nature, although there is no great dissimilarity in any of the versions.

In *Queen Eleanor's Confession* the Queen on her deathbed sends for two French friars, who are supplanted by the King and the Earl Marshall. The Queen confesses that the Earl Marshall had her maidenhead, that she had for seven years carried poison to use on her husband, and that she loves the Earl Marshall's son better than the King's. In all versions the King reveals himself. Peele chose to use only the disguise and the confession of adultery, but this material blends admirably with the charge of the baseborn child in the previous ballad.

The motif of *le mari confesseur* is common in continental literature.<sup>10</sup> In those versions a wife manages, in spite of her jealous husband, to secure one or more lovers; the suspicious husband disguises himself as her confessor, but when he confronts her with the truth, she pretends to have recognized his disguise and to have concocted her confession to punish his distrust. The whole point of these tales hinges upon the husband's revealing himself, so that the wife may display her wit. The tone, as one would expect in such a *fabliau* or *novella*, is humorous, and our sympathies are with the erring wife rather than the jealous husband. While the English ballad retains the husband's revelation, the piece is serious in tone, and the Queen has no reply; she can only turn away in shame. In the play Peele discards the revelation altogether. Further, one of the two details used by Peele, the surrender of the Queen's virginity to a man other than her husband, appears only in the ballad, not in the continental

10. A list of analogs appears in Child, 3, 258, to which may be added Thomas Twyne, *The Schoolemaster* (1576), Bk. IV, chap. viii, a version which does not differ in essentials from the continental tales.

tales. For Peele's source there seems no reason to go beyond the ballad, as Cheffaud does (p. 92).

The fact that these two complementary ballads supply all the details found in the play strengthens the assumption that they antedate the play and provide its source material. To account for the existence of these ballads and the play, one must assume that the three developed independently, or that the play is the source of the ballads, or that the ballads are the source of the play. The remarkable coincidence of detail virtually rules out independent development. It seems equally unlikely that two ballads could stem from the same source play without having some detail in common, and the fact that the ballads deal with different women strengthens the case against this hypothesis. The alternative solution, that the ballads sprang up independently and were combined into one section of a dramatic plot by Peele, is certainly reasonable. Against it can be argued only the late date of extant copies of the ballads, but the fallacy of such caviling is demonstrated by the possible early date of the Huntington copy of *The lamentable fall*.

Further discussion of this particular group of sources must be postponed for the next section, where it will be necessary to determine just how the strange career of Queen Elinor is fitted into the plot. But it may be noted here before passing to that complex matter that only in this latter section of the play does Peele follow his sources closely. Elsewhere he moves freely, selecting facts or themes, modifying them, juggling events, inventing motivation and action. His source materials never obstruct his imagination, though one may frequently, and with justice, wish that he had confined his plotting to more credible incidents.

### 3. TEXTUAL REVISION

In those portions of *Edward I* which depend upon the ballads attacking the two queens lie the clues for the solution to the major textual problem of the play. In the inconsistent characterization of Elinor, some unusual stage directions, the obvious omission of scenes, and the failure to integrate the plot of the Queen's pride and its consequences with the rest of the play, there is evidence to show that the extant text is a revision of an earlier version of the play

which did not include the incidents based upon the two ballads.

The key to the problem is the inconsistency in the characterization of Elinor, which has probably been remarked by every reader of the play. At times the Queen is lovely Nell, helpmate and companion to her brave Ned. Nell is essentially a queen of ballad lore, who rules over "merrie England," but the character has also a fundamental historical accuracy. Elinor did accompany Edward on his Crusade, and she was his companion on his later excursions into Wales; it was on the way to Scotland that she died in 1290, and Edward's grief at her loss indicates the high esteem in which he held her, an esteem evidently shared by the entire realm. In this character of companion and helpmate Elinor speaks an earthy, vigorous language; she describes Edward's courtship (ll. 1064-67):

Ile tel thee girle when I was faire and young,  
I found such honny in sweete Edwards tongue,  
As I could never spend one idle walke,  
But Ned and I would peece it out with talke.

When her son is born, she announces proudly, "Brother thers a fist I warrant you wil holde a Mace as fast as ever did father or grandfather before him" (ll. 1467-68). And when the young prince is carried back from his christening, his mother says, "They have touzed him, and washt him throughlie and that bee good" (ll. 1946-47).

Nell's actions are as earthy as her speech. Arriving in Wales, she climbs from her litter gasping for breath and dripping perspiration in the humid Welsh summer. She is beset by an uncontrollable desire to box her Ned's royal ear. Like any ordinary mother, she chides the nurse for allowing the baby prince to cry when his father is present. In speech and action this Nell is more woman than queen, but that very quality lends her sympathetic appeal.

Contrast with this her other character, Elinor, princess of Spain, whose pride drives her to commit murder and attempt the mutilation of her English subjects. In this role Elinor falls into an inflated rhetoric, sometimes extravagant to the point of absurdity. This heightened style appears first in her conversation with Joan at the end of the opening scene and at its most abandoned in *Queene*

*Elinors speech* in scene 3. Later, upon her arrival in Wales she informs Gloucester (ll. 1031-46) that

the ground is al too base,  
For Elinor to honor with her steps:  
Whose footpace when shee progreſt in the ſtreete,  
Of Aecon and the faire Jeruſalem,  
Was nought but costly Arras points,  
Faire Iland tapeſtrie and Azured ſilke,  
My milke white ſteed treading on cloth of ray,  
And trampling proudly underneath the feete,  
Choiſe of our Engliſh wollen drapery.  
This climat orelowring with blacke congealed clouds,  
That takes their ſwelling from the marrish ſoile,  
Fraught with infectious fogges and miſtie dampes,  
Is farre unworthy to be once embalmd,  
With redolence of this refreshing breath:  
That ſweetens where it lights as doe the flames,  
And holy fires of Vestaes ſacrifice.

This bombast would perhaps not be so striking if it did not immediately follow her exclamation (ll. 1017, 1021):

Fie this hot wether how it makes me sweate,

. . .

This wind and dust ſee how it ſmolders me,

and juſt precede the complaint (ll. 1070-71) that

Old Nell is mother now and grãdmother may,  
The greenest graſſe doth droupe and turn to hay.

It is surprising, to say the least, to hear this proud Queen, too splendid to touch Welsh soil or breathe Welsh air, describing herself as "old Nell."

To establish the existence of this dual characterization of the Queen is easy enough, but it merely points the way and in itself can offer no more than substantiation for the evidence of revision yet to be examined.

*The lamentable fall* uses two general types of material to portray Elinor the proud Spaniard: (1) the descriptive, which details the charges of pride in position and luxury in apparel and in which may be included the attempted mutilation of the English subjects; and (2) the narrative, which recounts the mistreatment of the London Mayoress and as its consequence the sinking, rising, and subsequent death of the Queen. The descriptive matter and the attempted mutilation Peele interpolated into scenes of the original play, so that the added material is incidental to the principal business. The account of the Mayoress and the fate of the Queen, as sequential events, appear for the most part in a series of scenes in which they provide the only matter and which in no way depend upon any other portion of the play (scenes 3, 15, 18, 20, 21, 23). In these scenes one finds the clearest indication that the story of the proud Queen was a later addition.

Throughout the play there are frequent errors and omissions in stage directions, but they ordinarily affect only minor characters in complicated scenes. Normally each scene begins with an entrance direction and ends with a general *exeunt*. There is an exception at the end of scene 10, where no *exeunt* is marked for the singers, and at the end of scene 13, where the omitted *exeunt* is replaced by "After the sight of John Balioll is done" at the beginning of the stage direction for the next scene. However, at the end of scene 19, in which Balliol appears as Edward's prisoner, instead of an *exeunt* there is an entry for the Potter's wife and John, followed by the rising of the Queen, after which comes an *exeunt* for the trio. Then appears this direction, which the present edition prints at the beginning of scene 21:

*Enter two messengers, the one that David shall be hangd, the other of the Queenes sincking,*

but there is no entrance for King Edward and his train, who are present when the messengers arrive. These omissions suggest that in the original version what is now scene 21 followed immediately as part of scene 19. Such an arrangement would make the messengers enter directly to King Edward and would obviate any necessity for an exit and another entry for him, both of which are missing in

the quarto. In other words, the author evidently interpolated the scene of the Queen's rising into the middle of another scene without making the requisite changes in the stage directions.

The direction at the beginning of scene 21 also shows that the interpolation must have resulted in some further redaction in that scene. Two messengers are called for, one to announce David's capture, the other to bring word of the Queen's sinking. But the first messenger instead tells of the death of Lluellen; David is not mentioned. Apparently the original text had two messengers bearing news of the death of Lluellen and the capture of David, to which there had been a reference in l. 2147. In the course of adding the Queen's misfortune David's fate was omitted and the stage direction was erroneously altered.

Similarly, near the close of the coronation scene (l. 746) an *exeunt* is marked. The Mayoress and her train enter immediately, but there is no re-entry or *manent* for the Queen, Joan, and Gloucester, all of whom are present in what follows. The omission suggests that Peele found this an opportune spot for introducing the Mayoress but that in making the addition he neglected to revise the stage directions completely. Had this section been written at the same time as the preceding scene, or had it been intended to form a separate scene, Peele would probably not have failed to note the presence of the Queen and her companions; in this respect he is usually accurate, although he may sometimes miss one character.

After scene 14, which is itself a suspiciously short scene of only three lines, there follows this direction:

*Then make the proclamation upon the walles. Sound Trumpets.*

Certainly something, apparently an entire scene, has been omitted here, for we do not know what proclamation or what walls are intended, although the scene may well have had something to do with Mortimer's campaign against Lluellen, which begins just before this direction and comes to its bloody end in scene 16. The significant point, however, is that after this isolated stage direction that shows clearly that something has been lost, there follows the scene

portraying the murder of the Mayoress. It might be maintained that the omission is the chance result of the printer's carelessness, but since the lost material must have been fairly extensive, it is much more likely that insertion of the murder scene led to the excision of an earlier scene and that the stage direction remains by mistake.

Nearly all the final scene of the quarto depends directly or indirectly upon the ballads; the death of Joan is the author's invention, but so closely is it allied to the ballad account of the Queen's death that it must have been added at the same time. However, the long speech (ll. 2620-47) in which the King orders the funeral of Joan and Elinor may be a remnant of the earlier version of the play. Edward's first reaction to the Queen's confession and death is primarily shame, although he is naturally grieved. It therefore seems strange that his directions for the funeral give no hint of the Queen's misdeeds, and indeed the honors accorded her are exactly those described in the historical accounts.

Several other inconsistencies appear in this speech. In l. 2630 Edward addresses the peers of England, but according to the text only he and Gloucester are on stage. He commands that the bodies be transported to London, but in the extant play the Queen's death presumably occurs there (l. 2360). Although both bodies are to be taken to London, the King in ordering the actual interment neglects to mention the burial of Joan. These peculiarities suggest that in the original version of the play the Queen's death was represented in accordance with the historical accounts as occurring outside London. They further indicate that Joan's death may not originally have been a part of the play and that in using the King's speech from the earlier version, the author failed to make all the changes necessitated by the double tragedy. It should be recalled in this connection that the historical Joan survived not only her mother but also her husband.

A clue to the problem of the original presentation of the Queen's death may be the curious stage direction at the beginning of the final scene: *Elinor in child-bed with her daughter Jone, and other Ladies*. Collier assumed that the Queen should be revealed on stage in the same bed in which she appears in scenes 10 and 12. This is a reasonable explanation, but if it is correct to assume that the

Queen's death under different circumstances made part of the first version of the play, this stage direction may also be a remnant of that earlier scene. Perhaps Elinor originally died in Wales in a scene subsequent to her other appearances in the bed; the specific mention of "child-bed" suggests that her death might possibly have been attributed to the birth of the young prince.

The greatest mystery of the final scene, indeed of the entire play, is found in ll. 2649-68, part of which is evidently a first draft of ll. 2011-15. It is perhaps not quite accurate to say first draft, for the rewriting involved more than polishing; the locale is also changed, and one suspects that this passage is in some way related to the revision, but although the lines are assuredly out of place in the final scene, it seems impossible to locate what might have been their original position. The problem is discussed at some length in the notes, and further consideration here is not warranted, since no solution has been found. Suffice it to say that there seems to be nothing in this passage which would in any way negate the validity of the theory of revision offered here.

Because the material based upon the descriptive portion of the source ballad is not made into independent scenes but is interpolated into various scenes of the original play, the exact extent of these additions is sometimes difficult to determine; but some passages containing this matter substantiate the conclusions drawn, and in no case do they conflict with the theory of revision. The discussion of the dual characterization of the Queen called attention to the inflated language used by Elinor as the proud princess of Spain; in two instances single speeches containing this particular type of rhetoric are obvious interpolations.

The first, *Queene Elinors speeche* in scene 3, which is the extreme example of the Queen's extravagant language, has no connection with the preceding lines, and after four lines of response to her compliments the King breaks off abruptly when he turns to consider plans for coping with the Welsh rebellion. The failure to integrate this speech and the King's reply with its context makes it obvious that the lines were an afterthought. The unusual heading of this set piece suggests that it was written on a separate leaf which was then inserted in the manuscript with a note for inclusion at this point. The author evidently realized the abruptness of the

interpolation and attempted to remedy it by writing a three-line transition (ll. 701-703):

And lovelie England to thy lovely Queene,  
 Lovelie Queene Elinor, unto her turne thy eye,  
 Whose honor cannot but love thee wel.

In the quarto these lines are printed not as an introduction to *Queene Elinors speeche* but after l. 668, where they are certainly misplaced, for they have no connection with the context and only intrude into what is without them a perfectly comprehensible speech. The error in placing the lines is explained if we assume that the author wrote them in the margin of the original leaf with a mark for insertion which the compositor misinterpreted. The manuscript of *Sir Thomas More*, which contains several marginal additions as well as interpolated passages, gives ample evidence that such a conjecture is not inconsistent with actual practice (see especially fol. 10<sup>a</sup>, l. \*502, in the Malone Society Reprint). Whether or not one agrees with this explanation of the source of the error, there seems little doubt that the three lines are intended to precede *Queene Elinors speeche* and that it is an interpolation.

A second case of interpolation is Elinor's speech to Gloucester (ll. 1031-46), quoted above to illustrate the Queen's elevated style. Her first speech in the scene complains about the heat and dust; then she announces that the rudeness of the Welsh climate makes it unfit for the honor of inhalation by her regal person, and in the next speech she describes herself as "old Nell." This change of tone alone is sufficient to suggest that the proud oration is an addition, but there is even better evidence. The Queen's tirade against Wales is followed immediately by Joan's speech (ll. 1047-50):

Whose pleasant fields new planted with the spring,  
 Make Thamesis to mount above the bankes,  
 And like a wanton wallowing up and downe,  
 On Floras beds and Napees silver downe.

Even if one were to adopt Dyce's suggestion and emend *wallowing* to *wallow*, the lines still would not be clear. The relative pronoun at the beginning is incomprehensible unless we assume that some lines have been lost. The reference to the Thames indicates that

Joan had introduced some contrast between the unhealthful Welsh climate and the more pleasant air of England. Gloucester follows up this remark with the graceful compliment that Joan's presence suffices to make Wales as pleasant as England for him, but the essential point of contrast is not clear in the extant text. One might maintain that this is a simple case of omission of a part of a speech by the printer, but the unusual extravagance of the Queen's lines makes it more likely that in inserting the passage the author was not sufficiently careful in fitting it into the context.

There remain two scenes in which the additions were made carefully enough to cover the traces of the reworking. In the opening scene one may be certain that the discussion of the Queen's plans to amaze England with her coronation finery is an interpolation, for this part of the scene is based upon the ballad and in it Elinor speaks in the inflated vein. The foundation of the college for veterans is more troublesome. It need not be thought of as particularly connected with the Queen's pride, and indeed it is unlikely that it was introduced merely to give Elinor an opportunity to contribute. Even her spectacular gift may have been a fortuitous incident that originally showed only her munificence and later could be adapted to reveal her pride. It is perhaps going too far to suggest that the subject of the hospital is abruptly introduced at l. 117, but Gloucester's sudden turn to affairs of state at l. 183 is a *non sequitur*. To consider this proof of revision would be weighting the evidence unfairly, but the certainty that some portions of the scene are interpolations entitles us to look upon it with suspicion.

In scene 10, beyond the section concerned with making "mens beards milt and womens bosomes bleed," it is impossible to say exactly what was added. The Queen's desire to have her son dressed beautifully and her rejection of the gift of the Welsh barons lend themselves to the charge of pride, but again this may be fortuitous. Were it not for her other actions, one would hardly be disturbed by the Queen's treatment of the mantle of frieze, but suspicion may well be aroused by the reappearance of the Queen's extravagant language in ll. 1610 ff. So far as the plot is concerned, the original scene might have ended at l. 1552; omission of the remainder of the scene would cause no difficulty whatsoever, but the gift of the Welsh barons, Edward's treatment of them, and his insistence upon

the prince's being christened in the frieze mantle seem as closely allied to the political conquest of the Welsh people as to Elinor's pride. Certainly this is the only point in the course of his revision in which the author has managed to achieve a really close fusion of the Queen's pride with any theme of the original play.

In each of these scenes occurs a strange confusion in stage directions. At the end of the long description of the entry of the King and his train (l. 40) the stage direction calls for the entrance of

*Signior Moumfort the Earle of Leicesters prisoner, with Sailers and Souldiers, and Charles de Moumfort his brother.*

The present edition emends *Leicesters* to *Leicester* to give an intelligible reading, but we do not know who Charles de Moumfort is. In the light of the historical accounts, as well as the later events of the play, one would assume that the two members of the family present should be Elinor and her brother Emerick (see p. 12 and ll. 591-595), but the text in its extant state gives no adequate reason for introducing any of the Montforts here, for they do not speak and their presence goes unexplained. One wonders if the earlier version of the play made this direction clear.

A similar difficulty occurs at 10, l. 1453, where the stage direction calls for the Queen to be "attended by Mary Dutches of Lancaster." No such person exists in the historical accounts or elsewhere in the play. It would be possible to insert a comma and take Mary to be the Mayoress of London, but there would remain a Duchess of Lancaster whose presence is nowhere explained. Both of these peculiar stage directions, it will be noted, occur in scenes in which, according to the theory proposed, there must have been a considerable amount of reworking when the ballad material was added.

Of the nine scenes containing material related to the Queen's pride, six show traces of the suggested revision. The evidence varies in quality, to be sure, but it all points toward the same conclusion, and in no case does the theory proposed force any strained interpretation of the text. Perhaps most telling is the fact that this entire sequence could simply be lifted from the play without necessitating any major redaction; scenes 1 and 6 might require some minor tinkering and the original final scene would have to be restored, but

there need be little concern over that scene, since in its extant form it presents difficulties that appear to be beyond solution.

One is on more certain ground in pointing out what was added than in suggesting what the earlier version of the play contained. Such evidence as there is, however, indicates that more space was originally devoted to the Scottish difficulties of Edward's reign. It was noted earlier that the Scottish plot is treated perfunctorily in the extant text, extending to less than 300 lines, or about one-tenth of the entire play. This hardly seems a proportionate length when one considers the Greenwood scenes, which do little to further the action of the piece. In scene 10 the opening stage direction describes someone—whether the King or all the nobles is not quite clear from the text—as “booted from Northam,” and from a later line it is apparent that the King had ridden there. It was at Norham in 1291 that King Edward as overlord of Scotland met with the nobles of that nation to take their oath of fealty and to hear their claims to the vacant Scottish throne. There is no reason for the Norham reference to be introduced into the stage direction and the text unless an earlier scene were specifically located there, and the logical scene to occur at Norham is that which in the extant text is made part of scene 3, the dual coronation. The first seventy lines or so of that scene, as far as *Queene Elinors speeche*, which has been shown to be an interpolation, could occur at Norham if the three lines (634–636) referring to Edward's own coronation were omitted. Indeed, the King's opening speech would read more smoothly if they were cut; such excision would allow the parallel constructions of ll. 631 and 637 to stand closer together for better emphasis.

That this third scene is the result of cutting and patching is suggested not only by the addition of *Queene Elinors speeche*, but also by the confusion of references to the coronation. In ll. 634–635 Edward says that his coronation is over; the reference in l. 733 is ambiguous, but in l. 741 it appears that Elinor at least has not yet been crowned. The author may simply have been careless here, but there would certainly be no difficulty in assuming that the later lines of this scene (729–746) represent the original scene of Edward's coronation, which came at about this same point in the earlier version of the play. The brother of Scotland of l. 737 could

be Alexander III, who according to the chronicles did homage at the coronation but who does not otherwise enter into the extant play. We may then suppose that at some later point in the original text, but before scene 10, Edward upon hearing of Alexander's death is called to Norham to meet with the Scottish nobles. When the introduction of the story of the Queen's pride threatened to make the play overlong, some scenes had to be cut, and the Scottish plot could most easily be spared. The result was the crude patchwork of the present scene 3.

While no individual piece of evidence is conclusive, the total weight of the indications of revision is impressive. It must again be emphasized that in all but three of the scenes containing matter from the ballads one finds some signs of the interpolation, and the failure to integrate the ballad material with the rest of the play makes it suspect. Perhaps most significant is the remarkable consistency of the evidence; none of it is contradictory and most of it would be difficult, if not impossible, to explain by any other theory. Even the purely negative evidence that no such difficulties occur outside the scenes containing the ballad materials helps to assure the validity of the proposed theory. While one may perhaps question the suggestions of the original play's content, there can surely be little doubt that the play did undergo a rewriting which included addition of the pride plot and excision of some scenes.

Cheffaud (pp. 93-95) has proposed that another section of the play was an interpolation. His suggestion is based on l. 1958, where, as the wedding celebration for Joan and Gloucester begins, the King says: "Sir David you may commaund al ample welcome in our court, for your cuntreymen." This remark is certainly an error at this point, for in the preceding scene David has revealed his treacherous nature by fighting on Lluellen's side in the Greenwood combat. There seem to be two possible explanations: (1) the line is simply an error on the author's part, or (2) there has been some further revision involving at least a change in the order of scenes, if not more extensive alterations.

The possibility of the author's carelessness may be put aside for the moment. Changing the order of scenes 11 and 12 would perhaps not cause any major difficulty, but some awkwardness would result, and there is no evidence beyond the one line to indicate that

such a reversal of scenes has occurred. The alternative to this simple switching of scenes appears to be the theory that the forest combat in which David takes his brother's part against the King is a later addition. The scene is Peele's invention, for in the historical accounts David does not reveal himself until he takes up arms against England in the third rebellion of 1282. But since what action the Greenwood scenes contain seems directed toward this combat, to assume that it is an addition implies also that the entire Greenwood sequence or at least those scenes in which the Welsh rebels appear as Robin Hood and his band are also interpolations, and indeed Cheffaud proposes this solution. However, he does not give any detailed reasons for his theory beyond noting the misplaced reference to David, and it is difficult to find substantiating evidence.

Apart from the troublesome line addressed to David, there are no textual vagaries similar to those just examined in relation to the pride plot which would indicate that the Greenwood sequence is an interpolation. However, the lack of motivation and plot progress in those scenes might make them suspect. There is no preparation for Lluellen's assumption of the Robin Hood disguise. At the end of scene 5 he is apparently at peace with Edward; two scenes later he appears in the Greenwood. No explanation of the new state of hostility is given, and this very abruptness may arouse the suspicion that here is something concocted after the major portion of the play was written. Mortimer's one-line appearance at the opening of scene 7 is unusual, but since he apparently stays on stage in spite of his marked exit (see note to l. 1150), it can hardly be said to prove anything. Scenes 7 and 8 are huddled together in a manner perhaps not quite the normal one for Elizabethan drama with its intermingled plots, but a similar instance occurs in 12 and 13, where the appearance of Versses before Edward is immediately followed by his return to Balliol, and there is nothing to suggest that any change in the text has been made to result in this conjunction of scenes. After the forest combat the Robin Hood disguise is dropped as summarily as it was assumed, but it has served its function, and the dismissal need not necessarily raise any question.

The introduction of scenes 7 and 8, which do nothing to further the plot, helps to spin out the play, so that the first two-thirds proceeds at an extremely leisurely pace in contrast with the rapid train

of events in the final section. But this leisurely progress results as much from the long first scene and the succeeding scenes at court as from the Robin Hood sequence. This is a difficulty due primarily to Peele's faulty sense of dramatic structure; he writes lengthy scenes which do not advance his plot, and after 2,000 lines he finds himself with much of his story yet to tell. The result is an acceleration of tempo to the point that in the latter third of the play scenes follow one another helter-skelter.

Against this impression that the Robin Hood scenes are not quite integral to the play must be weighed the use of the other Greenwood elements, the subplot of Friar David and his fellows. The introduction of the Friar and Guentlian in scene 2 seems perfectly natural; the Harper with his prophecy helps to tie the subplot to the main theme of the Welsh rebellion, and this particular motif reappears in scene 22, when, after the Friar has joined with Mortimer, they escort David to be hanged and carry Lluellen's head on a spear in fulfillment of the prophecy. With this subplot the appearance of the Welsh prince as Robin Hood seems almost what one would expect in spite of the lack of motivation.

The Robin Hood scenes, however, are most closely connected with the main plot through the character of Mortimer. His love for Elinor is made quite clear in scene 5, and much of the two succeeding Greenwood scenes is devoted to it; the love theme reappears in 17 after the death of Lluellen, and the Mortimer-Lluellen conflict in love is paralleled in their opposition on the battlefield. While this principal point of contact between the two sections of the play does not completely dispose of the possibility that the Robin Hood scenes were added later, Mortimer's love for Elinor, as well as the Longshanks-Lluellen combat itself, represents a closer fusion in plotting than can be found in the interpolated sequence describing the proud Queen.

In adding the theme of the Queen's pride, Peele left numerous signs of the revision. Must we then conclude that he introduced another lengthy sequence so skillfully that no trace remains but the one misplaced reference to David? This is a difficult question about which we may well hesitate to be dogmatic, but my own feeling is that the evidence is insufficient to warrant Cheffaud's

conclusion, and unless more can be found, the reference to David must be explained as the author's error.

#### 4. THE PRINTER'S COPY

Thus far, as a matter of convenience, I have spoken of the author and reviser as if they were one. This may or may not have been the case, and it is now time to consider the identity of the reviser and the nature of the printer's copy. *Edward I* is an unusually corrupt text. Textual advances in the twentieth century, stemming from the distinguished contributions of such men as Sir Walter Greg and A. F. Pollard, make it inevitable that the editor confronted with such a text consider the possibility of memorial reconstruction: the text may have been pirated for printing by being reproduced from memory by someone who had observed performances, or perhaps by one or more actors who had taken part. The text acquired by such illicit means, it is assumed, would have characteristics to justify its being called "bad," in contrast to a "good" text based upon legitimate copy. A bad text might have one or two roles in which lines would be nearly identical with those of the good text; other roles would vary according to the reconstructor's memory of the particular passages. There would doubtless be anticipations—instances in which words, phrases, or lines which should occur later in the play are introduced by error into earlier speeches. The reverse procedure would result in recollections. Stage directions would be likely to describe what actually occurred in performance, rather than to give simple imperative instructions. Exits, entrances, and stage business might be confused. Occasionally one might expect to find the sequence of action inexplicably muddled, or at least different from that of the good text. Memory failure might result in omission of lines, speeches, or even entire scenes, so that the resulting play would be considerably shorter than a good text. One might on occasion find outside the play some hint of irregularity, such as no entry in the *Stationers' Register*; however, such external evidence could only be corroborative.

There is one serious difficulty in applying the theory of memorial reconstruction. The denomination "bad" implies always a "good"

text for comparison, and indeed, in spite of some valiant attempts to do so, it is nearly impossible to prove that a text extant in a single version is a bad quarto. Even the first quarto of *Hamlet* would not be so obviously bad if we did not have the good texts of the second quarto and folio for comparison. Of the characteristics attributed to bad quartos, only verbal corruption, descriptive stage directions, and perhaps some errors in the stage directions and in the action are likely to be detected in a single-text play, but even those may not be very apparent.

Although there were two early printings, *Edward I* is a single-text play, for the second quarto is a reprint of the first and has no textual authority (see below, p. 64). The evidence that might be cited to prove it a bad text is therefore automatically limited, and *Edward I* contains nothing to demonstrate conclusively an illegitimate origin. There is no external evidence to arouse suspicion; the entries in the *Stationers' Register* are perfectly regular, and the final *explicit* announcing Peele's authorship has its parallel in other works of the canon. Examination of the text renders no internal evidence of piracy. Verbal corruption is plentiful, but it is spread through the play with perhaps a concentration in two or three passages of the final scene. The notes will show that most of these verbal errors are to be accounted for as misreading of difficult copy or other common printer's mistakes. In two cases lines are misplaced, but in one instance (ll. 701-703) the printer appears to have been at fault; and while the other passage (ll. 2649-68) must remain a mystery, there seems no reason to attribute it to memorial reconstruction. Most of the errors in the stage directions are limited to the omission of one character and can be most simply explained as the result of the author's carelessness; other more significant ones have already been related to the process of revision. Many of the stage directions are descriptive, but in a way that reveals the hand of the author rather than the pirate. The omission of two scenes has already been explained as the result of revision (above, pp. 27, 33), and in one case a stage direction remains, something which would not happen in a bad quarto. Omission of these scenes has apparently not affected the length of the play, for it is far longer than any other work of the Peele canon and compares not unfavorably in length with contemporary works; certainly there is no reason to assume

that we are dealing with a seriously truncated text. There can be little doubt that the play was legitimately printed from legitimate copy.<sup>11</sup>

Legitimate copy is usually assumed to be either the author's manuscript or some theatrical copy. In the case of *Edward I* the revision is a complicating factor which appears to allow alternative origins: Peele's manuscript, which Peele himself revised; or Peele's manuscript, which someone else, presumably someone connected with the theater, revised. As is the case with so many vexing problems in this text, the evidence is not sufficiently clear to allow a positive statement; therefore, it seems better to provide the basis for judgment without offering more than a tentative conclusion.

Previous writers have been reluctant to admit that the extant play could have been produced in the theater, but their reservations are hardly justified (see above, note 6). Assuming that the extensive verbal corruption could be corrected by reference to the manuscript, the only difficult spots would be ll. 2649-68 and the stage direction at l. 2673 in the final scene; these lines could simply be omitted, as they are by Dyce and Bullen, although there is undoubtedly some explanation of their presence not yet hit upon. The result would not be a good play, but it would be intelligible. To Elizabethan tastes the sinking and rising of the Queen would com-

11. Leo Kirschbaum, "Census of Bad Quartos," *Review of English Studies*, 14 (1938), 36, consigned *Edward I* to this special limbo, but his discussion of the text is far from complete, and the instances he cites for considering it a memorial reconstruction are capable of other explanations. After this edition was presented to the Yale Department of English as a doctoral dissertation in 1952, an independent examination of the text was published by Mrs. Dora Jean Ashe in *Studies in Bibliography* 7 (1955), 153-170. I am happy to say that, while we disagree in detail, Mrs. Ashe concurs with me in rejecting completely the memorial reconstruction theory as an explanation of the *Edward I* quarto text. We agree in finding ground for belief that an original play was revised to include material from the ballad, but Mrs. Ashe is somewhat more conservative in her conclusions about the extent of that revision. One point of disagreement, the identity of the reviser, is discussed later, and here I need add only that I am much indebted to Mrs. Ashe's excellent article, for while I do not find her theory of the provenance of the manuscript convincing, under the stimulus of her work this entire section has been reconsidered and rewritten, I hope, to its advantage.

pensate for the faulty structure and the inconsistent characterization, and I do not doubt that except for the confused lines of the final scene the extant text substantially represents the play produced at the Rose. This belief is supported by the "sute of Glasse," which Edward wears in scene 3. The only dialogue reference to this costume appears in Elinor's interpolated speech, and it is this suit which helps to identify *Edward I* with the *Longshanks* of Henslowe's *Diary*. Surely this means that the revised form of the play was the one seen on the boards. Furthermore, Cheffaud, who did not recognize that the pride plot was a later interpolation, tried to demonstrate that the character of Elinor is a psychological study of pride. While I cannot believe that the interpretation is sound, such an attempt by a modern critic suggests that at least the Elizabethan public would not have been oppressed by the play's inconsistencies. Therefore, the possibility of a theatrical hand in the manuscript must be considered.

There is, however, only one possible indication of the working theater in the extant text. In an interpolated passage at l. 1644 appears this direction: *Read the paper Rice*. Collier suggests that the actor who played Rice may have doubled here as one of the King's attendants. Beyond the not insurmountable difficulty that he would have to appear in scenes before and after this one in his costume of Lincoln green, there seems to be no objection to Collier's theory. It is also possible that the stage direction preserves the name of an actor, but the only Rice known to have appeared on the London stage would have been too young to play the role as early as 1593.<sup>12</sup> Either explanation, however, implies the hand of someone connected with the theater. An author not attached to a particular company would be unlikely to include an actor's name, nor indeed would he be expected to concern himself with doubling of parts; but these are exactly the problems in which someone preparing a theatrical prompt book would have been interested. However, it is not certain that the line was intended as a stage direction; the wording is curious and leads one to suspect that it may actually be

12. John Rice, who first appears in 1607, was still young enough to portray a nymph in a water pageant in 1610 (Edwin Nungezer, *A Dictionary of Actors*, New Haven, 1929, p. 296).

a line of dialogue, although in that event Rice would still be unexplained.

Against this single point of possible contact with the theater must be ranged the frequent descriptive stage directions that reveal the hand of the author. The long direction describing the procession at l. 40 calls for specific soldiers and "others as many as may be." At l. 1964 the stage direction begins "After the showe, and the King and Queen with all the lordes and ladies in place," and at the beginning of scene 14, "After the sight of John Balioll is done." It is most unlikely that a theatrical hand worked over these directions. The mysterious Charles de Moumfort and the Duchess of Lancaster, who appear only in stage directions, would surely have been explained or removed in preparation of a prompt book. The stage direction for which there is no corresponding scene, the unnecessary entrance for Jack and the Harper at the beginning of scene 6, the confusion of exits and entrances for Jack and the Friar in 2, and the questionable stage business of 17 would certainly have been cleared up if the copy were to be used for directing a performance. Nor is it easy to see how a prompt book could be responsible for the confusion of ll. 2648-68 and the entrance of Mortimer with Lluellen's head on a spear in the final scene. Most of these peculiarities suggest instead the hand of the author.

The particular spelling which appears in speech ascriptions is probably in most cases the work of the compositor, but substantive variants are ordinarily assumed to be a sign of the author's manuscript. In this edition substantive variants have been retained, and if the reader will glance through the text, he will see that the Queen is usually *Queen Elinor* (abbreviated in various ways by the compositors of the original edition), but sometimes she is merely *Queen*, and occasionally *Elinor*. The King is *Longshanks* in the early part of the play, *King* in the latter part, and occasionally *Edward*. The Duke of Lancaster is sometimes *Edmund*, sometimes *Duke Edmund*. In this type of variation, the author's hand clearly appears.

A final piece of evidence seems to me to indicate conclusively the hand of the author. The curious *explicit* which appears at the end of *Edward I* appears also on the title pages of several printed copies of the minor poems and on the first page of the manuscript

of *Anglorum Feriae*. There can be little doubt that Peele was accustomed to signing his work in the style of the *explicit*, and it is most unlikely that such a phrase would appear at the end of the printed play unless the printer found it in his copy. Nor would one expect any theatrical copy made from the original to preserve such matter. The *explicit*, therefore, speaks positively for the author's manuscript as part at least of the printer's copy.

However, even such positive evidence does not prove that the entire manuscript was Peele's, for the author's original document might have been written over by another hand. Unfortunately, there is no definitive evidence one way or the other. In scene 3, where *Queene Elinors speeche* is interpolated, it was suggested that a three-line introduction to that speech was written in the margin and inserted in the wrong place by the printer. Such an error might arise no matter who wrote the manuscript or who made the revision. Style offers no real grounds for judging the authorship of the interpolated passages. The added poetry bears those characteristics found in the main body of verse in the play, particularly the devices of alliteration and repetition. The rhetorical quality of the added speeches for the Queen sets them apart from her lines in the original version, but it is also apparent in many passages spoken by Lluellen and the King in places where no question of interpolation arises. Nor are all the added speeches highly rhetorical; some are, in fact, distressingly lame. No stylistic distinction can be made between the Friar's speeches in scene 11 and the interpolated prose dialogue of scene 20. To say that there is no perceptible difference in style between the two parts of the play does not, however, necessarily dispose of the possibility of an alien hand.

Equally inconclusive is the handwriting of the copy. Notes for the present edition contain ample evidence to show that the copy must have been written in the ordinary secretary hand (except perhaps for stage directions and most proper names), and it would be superfluous to cite here more than two or three examples. In l. 846 the quarto reading *bloud* is apparently the result of the compositor's misreading *blode* for *blade*, which is certainly correct. *In* for *me* occurs several times (see ll. 1116, 2564, and notes). In l. 397 the compositor misread *munck Davie* for *Mannocke deny*, an error

explained in the notes. These corruptions are all of types likely to occur in reading secretary hand.

Peele's hand may be studied in his letter to Lord Burghley (Lansdowne MS 99, No. 54), which is reproduced in facsimile by Dyce, Bullen, and Horne (p. 106), and in his holograph copy of *Anglorum Feriae* (British Museum Add. MS 21,432). It is a beautiful hand, a mixture of Italian and secretary, which may even today be read with ease. Certainly a manuscript in that hand would be unlikely to give rise to such verbal corruption as the quarto text exhibits. However, there is no proof that Peele always wrote so clearly. The holographs are both fair copies in which, it seems reasonable to assume, Peele was at pains to write as well as possible. For ordinary purposes he may have used secretary. In his *Annals* (1, 275, n. 1) Collier attributes to Peele "The Hermit's Speech," written for Elizabeth's 1591 visit to Theobalds; the manuscript is in secretary with corrections in the Italian hand. When Collier first printed the poem, he reported that it was subscribed G.P., but the extant manuscript has the subscription torn away as if deliberately, suggesting the possibility of a forgery. Sir Walter Greg, reporting on his study of the manuscript in *Review of English Studies*, 1 (1925), 452-454, does not believe it was written by Peele, but he admits that the question is not an easy one. It would appear impossible to deny that Peele *could* have written a copy of *Edward I* in a difficult secretary hand.

Thus there seems no way of proving conclusively anything about the manuscript beyond the fact that it was in a secretary hand; that it was confused and difficult because of additions, deletions, and rearrangements; and that at least portions of it were in Peele's own hand. The rest must be conjecture.

Earlier it was demonstrated that Peele's *Edward I* and the *Longshanks* of Henslowe's *Diary* are the same play and that presumably the play presented at the Rose was the revised version. The acting copy belonged to Edward Alleyn in 1602, for Henslowe records (*Diary*, 1, 169): "pd vnto my sone EA for ij bocke called phillipe of spayne & Longshanckes the 8 of agust 1602 the some of . . . iiij<sup>u</sup>" Where did Alleyn get the play? Fleay, *Biographical Chronicle* (2, 157) on the basis of a very doubtful allusion, assigns the

play originally to Strange's Men, and Greg (*Diary*, 2, 176), while not accepting the allusion, admits that the conjecture is plausible enough. Alleyn was associated with Strange's Men from about 1590 until 1594, and he may have acquired the play when he left the amalgamated company to head the new Admiral's Men in the latter year. However, it seems equally possible that Alleyn received the play from the author and was therefore its sole owner until he released it to Henslowe in 1602. That Alleyn was purchasing playbooks and theatrical properties as early as 1589 we know (*Papers*, p. 31). It is generally assumed that the deed of sale which records a joint investment by Alleyn and his brother in theatrical supplies, including plays, refers to their acquisition of the stock of a particular company (*Diary*, 2, 70; Chambers, 2, 137), but he may well have made other such purchases. Indeed, there are records of the purchase of other apparel, evidently theatrical costumes.<sup>13</sup> That Alleyn knew Peele personally is suggested by the undated letter from W.P. to Alleyn in which Peele's name is mentioned (*Papers*, p. 32; see Horne, p. 86). There cannot, of course, be any certainty in such matters, but there seems no reason to assume any intermediate proprietorship between Peele and Alleyn.<sup>14</sup>

However, it does not necessarily follow that Alleyn's manuscript, whatever its origin, or any papers in his possession formed the printer's copy. One may theorize that Peele wrote the original version, revised it under the influence of the ballad, made a fair copy for Alleyn (or for Strange's Men) from his work sheets, and then sold the work sheets to the printer. That such a double sale

13. G. F. Warner, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts and Muniments of Alleyn's College of God's Gift at Dulwich* (London, 1881), pp. 3-4; *The Alleyn Papers*, ed. J. P. Collier (London, 1843), pp. 11-13.

14. Some support for this conjecture might come from the suggestion that *Mahomet*, another play sold by Alleyn in 1601 (*Diary*, 1, 147) may be Peele's lost *Turkish Mahomet and Hirene the Fair Greek*. The suggestion is generally made haltingly (Fleay, 2, 153); Greg (*Diary*, 2, 167) suggests that it may rather be *Mahomets Poo*, referred to by Peele in "A Farewell" (l. 21) and tentatively identified as Greene's *Alphonsus of Aragon*; Chambers (3, 462) follows Greg. Professor E. B. Everitt raises the embarrassing question why, if *Longshanks* and *Edward I* are the same, Henslowe should have paid out good money for a play already printed in two editions. I can reply only that perhaps it was easier to pay for a decent manuscript copy than to prepare the corrupt quarto for a prompt book.

would not be unique is indicated by the accusation that Greene sold his *Orlando Furioso* to two separate theatrical companies (Chambers, 3, 325). That Peele was sufficiently desperate for money during the early 1590's to engage in such duplicity is evident even from the meager information we have about him (see Horne, pp. 98 ff., and especially the letter to Burghley written slightly more than a year after entry of the play). This theory assumes, of course, that Peele was the reviser and ignores the possible theatrical connection indicated by *Read the paper Rice*.

One might prefer to believe that Peele wrote his play, revised it, and handed over to Alleyn the manuscript, which was made the basis of a prompt copy and later sold to the printer. However, since it seems unlikely that any theatrical purchaser would have paid much for a manuscript in the muddled condition which the printed text represents, one might argue that Peele's original version in fair copy was handed to Alleyn, who later caused the revision to be made and, after preparation of a prompt copy, disposed of the now muddled manuscript to the printer.

Mrs. Ashe conjectures that Peele wrote the play for the Queen's Men; on their departure to the provinces in 1591, they sold it, along with *Orlando Furioso*, to Alleyn. However, they kept Peele's manuscript, which they revised to make the play more attractive to provincial audiences; after making up their prompt book, they sold the revised author's manuscript to the printer. There is, I think, a logical basis for rejecting this conjecture; I have advanced evidence to show that if Alleyn's *Longshanks* is *Edward I*, it must be the revised version. According to Mrs. Ashe's theory, Alleyn would have had Peele's original play, not the revised version. Nor can I see any valid ground for assuming that the revision must have been made for provincials. The revised play went through at least two printed editions, and the scurrilous ballad was reprinted for a century; surely provincial sales did not account for this popularity. This, along with contemporary plays known to have been presented in the capital city, does not indicate that the revision would have been unsatisfactory for a London audience. Mrs. Ashe is driven to her theory by her firm conviction that neither Alleyn nor Peele could have been responsible for the play as it stands in the quarto text. But unfortunately, conviction is not evidence. My own

conjecture has the advantage (if, indeed, one can fairly call it so) of being simpler. However, the major point which I wish to make is that any theory of the provenance of the manuscript must necessarily be completely speculative; there is no proof one way or the other.

### 5. EDWARD I AND ENGLISH DRAMA

*Edward I* has been handled roughly by commentators, particularly by those who have also attempted to edit it. Bullen said—and I know exactly how he felt—that the labor of the treadmill is child's play in comparison to editing it. Schelling, in *The English Chronicle Play* (New York, 1902, p. 60), was emphatic in denying that *Edward I* marked any advance in the development of the history play. Bullen and Schelling were both right and wrong. *Edward I* is in some respects a bad play, but for the unbiased reader it offers some rewarding moments, and though no one approaching the history play from an evolutionary point of view would deny Schelling's thesis, the play does at least reveal something about the stage of dramatic development around 1590 to 1592.

Peele's genius is not essentially dramatic; he seems generally to conceive his scenes as spectacles. This is not surprising when we recall his experience as "producer" at Oxford and as arranger of pageants for the city of London (Horne, pp. 57, 72 ff.). So fond is he of massing large groups on stage that it must have strained the Admiral's Men to present the coronation scene, which calls for twenty-three persons: nine Scottish nobles, their nine pages, the King and Queen, the Queen Mother, Gloucester, and Sussex; probably Joan of Acon should be included to make up an even two dozen. The opening of scene 12 is ritualistic in its spectacle as the wedding train and the courtiers carrying the young prince from his christening visit first the King in his pavilion and then the Queen in her chamber; the formal repetitions of the dialogue emphasize the ritual. When the ceremonies are completed and the lords and ladies have danced, there comes this stage direction: "After the show, and the King and Queen with all the lordes and ladies in place, Longshanks speaketh." Peele was evidently quite aware of the spectacles he was arranging, and nowhere in the play is there a better "show"

than in the triumphal entry of the King in the opening scene. A hand less experienced in preparing pageants might have directed the King to lead the party or perhaps to come at the end of the train, but Peele places first the wounded soldiers, then the Ancient, the nobles whom we have seen before, and as a climax the King and Queen accompanied by the royal Duke of Lancaster; they are followed by the unexplained prisoners and still more sailors. Obviously the entire company, stagehands, ticket-takers, and perhaps even Henslowe himself were expected to bear a hand. Placing the royal couple at the head of the train would have made their entrance abrupt; allowing them to come at the end would make their retinue seem suddenly curtailed, but having the King and Queen appear in the middle of the procession gives the illusion that the cortege is longer than it actually is.

Although Peele's genius was nondramatic, he was certainly aware of dramatic problems. Before *Edward I* the main structural basis of the history play was chronology. *The Famous Victories*, whatever may be the source of the corrupt text in which it is extant, exemplifies the loose, incoherent work, held together only by the reappearance of central characters, that was popular in the 1580's. Marlowe's *Edward II* is usually regarded as the first successful attempt to give form to the recalcitrant materials of history by arranging them about a central conflict. Whether Peele knew Marlowe's play is uncertain (see p. 2), but he did recognize the need for something more than a mere chronological relationship between scenes. In an earlier section, we saw how he selected his historical events from his source, how he rearranged and telescoped them to make them comprehensible on the stage, and how perceptively he motivated the earlier sections by utilizing hints of minor historical significance. The structure of the play as a whole is an utter failure, but the first five scenes show that Peele recognized the problems inherent in his material, and if in revising his first version he departed from his original intent, we may deplore his judgment more than his ignorance. This is not to say that *Edward I* represents any stride in development of the drama; it merely means that dramatists generally were learning more about constructing plays; and while Peele was not in the vanguard, he was abreast of the times in understanding, if not in achievement.

Unlike Marlowe and the early Shakespeare but following the pattern of the earlier chronicle drama, Peele retained the comic underplot. The subplot of *Edward I*, centering about Friar Tuck, is nearly as episodic as the comic scenes of *The Famous Victories*, but Peele makes a determined effort to connect it with the main plot through Lluellen, the prophecies of Morgan Pigot, the Greenwood combat, and the eventual defection of the Friar to the English side. The Friar is there to provide fun, but the author evidently felt under some obligation to harmonize the fun with the serious incidents. He is not so successful as we might wish, but for the history of the drama the attempt is perhaps as significant as success. What Peele has done with his comic materials represents clearly the evolving concepts of dramatic structure, and while Peele's detractors would evidently not be willing to grant that he is making an advance, his accomplishment in unifying the comic subplot with the main plot cannot be surpassed in earlier dramatic writing.

Compared with the creations of Shakespeare and Marlowe, Peele's characters seem to be mere sketches. However, a fairer comparison with the work of the lesser dramatists of the time, particularly if one grants the thesis that Peele's real genius is nondramatic, reveals that the achievements of the author of *Edward I* were considerable. Too seldom has it been recognized that Peele's major accomplishment in this play is the comic subplot, particularly the creation of Friar David ap Tuck. The Friar is gross, at times lewd, but he is also witty and speaks a vigorous and pointed prose and a doggerel that is not without appeal. Irascible, lecherous, and shifty though he may be, he does nothing to betoken an evil heart. Wielding his stout staff, which he affectionately calls Richard, he is an adversary to be reckoned with. Once convinced that the Welsh gentlemen have no designs on his wench, he gives his all to Lluellen's cause. When that cause collapses, as a matter of expediency he shifts his allegiance to Mortimer, but there is no reason to expect the poor Friar to be bound by the moral code under which his superiors operate. Patterned directly after his traditional namesake, Friar Tuck of Robin Hood lore, he surpasses the early clowns outside Shakespeare.

Most commentators have considered the Friar much too coarse, a stricture difficult to understand. Even Cheffaud, one of the few

critics to give the Friar his just due, accuses Peele of using "plaisanteries trop libres" (p. 104). One wonders what might be Chef-faud's opinion of Falstaff, for if the Friar's conversation contains less wit, it also contains less bawdry. Many lines even in serious scenes in Beaumont and Fletcher are far more questionable, and Ben Jonson on occasion stoops to obscenities that Peele never comes near.

The Friar is not the only comic success in *Edward I*. In a brief scene Peele brings to life the Potter's Wife, who has enjoyed an evening of "gossiping," and her serving man, who has evidently been in her employ long enough that he may use his tongue freely. John appears not to be unduly awestruck by the spectacle of the Queen's rising out of the ground before his eyes. One thinks of the aplomb with which Bottom submits to the ministrations of his fairy menials.

The King and Queen, except in those sections concerned with Elinor's pride and in the death scene, are more comic than tragic. The King is a traditional stage figure; he is proud, he is brave in battle, he is generous to his subjects. But he is also a doting husband, and Peele gives him a fitting mate in sweet Nell. The atmosphere of the domestic scenes is generally gay, even descending to farce when Nell boxes her Ned's ear. Similar in tone are the wooing scenes between Joan and Gloucester, although these characters are mere shades in the extant text.

A character fully sketched, if not fully developed, is David, the traitor-patriot. We see him first contributing generously, yet circumspectly, to the King's charitable foundation. His treacherous nature becomes clear to the audience when he plots with his brother to deprive the King of the political advantage gained from the capture of Elinor de Montfort. This plot, which clearly reveals David's craft, succeeds admirably. Back at the English court in scene 10, David's patriotism endangers his spying activities as he denounces sotto voce the Welsh barons who humble themselves before the King. After he saves his brother from Edward in the Greenwood combat, his intense hatred of the English King is evident when he cries, "Hard was your hap to be overmastered by the coward" (l. 1915). From the English point of view David plays a despicable role, but according to his own light he follows a righteous course,

as is shown by his last brave speech when he is being led to his death: "I goe where my starre leads me, and die in my countreis just cause and quarrell" (l. 2368).

Although critics have given Peele somewhat less than his due as a dramatist, his skill as a poet has generally been recognized. To the taste nurtured by Marlowe and Shakespeare, he must inevitably seem rather old-fashioned, but he actually was an experimenter. Perhaps the most striking aspect of his verse is the great variety of its metrical patterns and styles. In his earliest work, *The Arraignement of Paris*, the fourteeners and occasional blank verse have an enameled beauty admirably suited to the play's mood and subject, and the songs have the ageless grace characteristic of the best Elizabethan lyrics. The blank verse of *David and Bethseba* has a curious intermingling of renaissance paganism and Old Testament richness beautifully adapted to the play's content. The playful, consciously archaic quality of the verse of *The Old Wives' Tale* is another example of Peele's ability to fit his style to his material.

Unfortunately, *Edward I* hardly bears out the promise of the other plays. The major influence at work here is Marlowe's mighty line. The opening of the play is replete with "high astounding terms" that are direct imitations of *Tamburlaine*:

Illustrious England, auncient seat of kings,  
Whose chivalrie hath roiallized thy fame:  
That sounding bravely through terrestiall vaile,  
Proclaiming conquests, spoiles, and victories,  
Rings glorious Ecchoes through the farthest worlde.  
What warlike nation trained in feates of armes,  
What barbarous people, stubborne or untained,  
What climate under the Meridian signes,  
Or frozen Zone under his brumall stage,  
Erst have not quaked and trembled at the name  
Of Britaine, and hir mightie Conquerours?

[ll. 11-21]

And so on through another twenty lines of eulogy of England and Edward. The source of this rodomontade is a brief passage from the opening scene of 1 *Tamburlaine* (I.1.6-11):

Unhappy Persia, that in former age  
 Hast been the seat of mighty conquerors,  
 That, in their prowess and their policies,  
 Have triumphed over Afric, and the bounds  
 Of Europe where the sun dares scarce appear  
 For freezing meteors and congealed cold.

Peele has expanded Marlowe's idea to almost twice its length. If we remember that bombast was originally stuffing, we can say that Peele is writing bombast in its purest form.

Peele also shares Marlowe's love of sensuous detail and does not hesitate to copy what impresses him. In 2 *Tamburlaine* Callapine describes the wealth he will shower on Almeda as a reward for helping him escape (I.3.41-45):

And, as thou rid'st in triumph through the streets,  
 The pavement underneath thy chariot wheels  
 With Turkey carpets shall be covered,  
 And cloth of arras hung about the walls,  
 Fit objects for thy princely eye to pierce.

Queen Elinor, in Peele's play, tells us (ll. 1033-39) that her

footpace when she progrest in the streete,  
 Of Aecon and the faire Jerusalem,  
 Was nought but costly Arras points,  
 Fair Iland tapestrie and Azured silke,  
 My milke white steed treading on cloth of ray,  
 And trampling proudly underneath the feete,  
 Choise of our English wollen drapery.

Marlowe would doubtless have approved Peele's additions—particularly the milk-white steed.

Another characteristic Peele shared with Marlowe and the other University Wits is his fondness for embroidering the fabric of his poetry with elaborate and erudite allusions to classical mythology. The speeches of Elinor as the proud princess are made more ornate by these embellishments. King Edward occasionally speaks in this vein, and Lluellen frequently finds it the most satisfactory manner



Go to, it shall be so, so shall it be,

[l. 806]

this sworde, this thirstie sworde.

[l. 852]

Sometimes a word is repeated in a different form or as a different part of speech:

Gives glorie to these glorious christall quarries.

[l. 710]

David if thou wilt best for me devise,

Advise my love be rendered to my hand.

[ll. 785-786]

And Englands promise princely to thy Wailes,

That none be Cambrias prince to governe us.

[ll. 987-988]

For love of his beloved Elinor.

[l. 1221]

Hence faigned weedes, unfaigned is my grieve.

[l. 2519]

This last line Marlowe found sufficiently to his taste to use in *Edward II* (see notes). The extreme into which Peele's penchant for repetition betrays him is evident in his overworking of *lovely*:

To see King Edward and his lovely Queene,

Sit lovely in Englands stately throne.

[ll. 266-267]

And lovelie England to thy lovely Queene,

Lovelie Queene Elinor, unto her turne thy eye.

[ll. 701-702]

There are at least eleven other occurrences of the word, applied indiscriminately to the Queen, to the King, to the Prince, and to London.

Representative of the plain style of much of the play is this passage (ll. 652-665):

Victorious Edward, to whom the Scottish kings

Owe homage as their lorde and soveraigne,

Amongst us nine, is but one lawfull king:

But might we all be judges in the case,  
 5 Then should in Scotland be nine kings at once,  
 And this contention never set or limited,  
 To staie these jarres we jointlie make appeale,  
 To thy imperiall throne, who knowes our claimes,  
 We stand not on our titles before your grace,  
 10 But do submit ourselves to your awarde,  
 And whome your Majestie shall name to be our king,  
 To him weelee yeeld obedience as a king,  
 Thus willinglie, and of their owne accorde,  
 Doth Scotland make great Englands king their judge.

The passage contains little figurative language. There is no emotional depth; one might, in fact, say that there is no poetry, only rhetoric. For ornament Peele depends upon his characteristic devices: alliteration (ll. 7, 10) and repetition (*king*, *kings*). The rhythmic pattern is typical of most of the verse in the play; natural pauses fall at the ends of lines, but since these are by no means all major stops, the total effect is one of freedom. Even with modern punctuation, which has an unfortunate tendency to slow the movement of dramatic blank verse, the passage would probably contain four sentences with major pauses at the end of ll. 3, 6, 8, and 12, an average of about three lines to the period. The caesura generally occurs after the second stressed syllable, but there is much variety in its location. Nor is the verse mechanically regular; there is an extra syllable in the middle of ll. 1 and 9. Line 11 is an alexandrine, and l. 6 has twelve syllables, although it is uncertain whether it should be read as a regular alexandrine or a line with a double feminine ending.

*Edward I* displays some of the metrical variety that characterizes Peele's other plays. Fourteener and decasyllabic couplets are frequently interspersed with other verse forms. In the comic scenes Peele uses a doggerel that is basically the old-fashioned four-stress meter with an indefinite number of unstressed syllables, but he varies this pattern with lines containing only two or three stresses. Occasionally at its best (as in ll. 1262–65) this doggerel becomes the familiar octosyllabic couplet.

The best writing of the play, however, may be found in the

prose, rather than in any of the poetry. Friar David's first encounter with Lluellen and his later meeting with the Farmer are both excellent comic dialogues; the conversation between the Potter's Wife and John at the beginning of scene 20, in spite of its brevity, reveals a skill worthy of the author of *The Old Wives' Tale*.

In one respect at least Peele looks forward, though from one point of view it is no compliment to say so. Irving Ribner (*The English History Play*, Princeton, 1957, p. 267) has demonstrated that the history play declined into romantic comedy with a vaguely historical background, and he is the first to observe that the process of degeneration began simultaneously with the flowering of the species. It begins, in fact, with *Edward I*, for, as we have already seen, Peele was more interested in romance than in history. To take a more positive view, one might say that Peele actually created a new genre: the historical romance, which, while utilizing historical figures and events, handles them with complete freedom and either ignores or treats perfunctorily the serious purposes of the history play (see Ribner, p. 26). The formula for historical romance is simple; essentially it amounts to transforming characters who should be moving in a political world into lovers who have little time for political complexities. It is a formula common enough today in popular literature and the mass media.

*Edward I* might even be called the ideal type of this genre. Most of the characters are actual historical figures, and many of the incidents can be traced to chronicle sources. Yet the author never allows fidelity to history to restrict the activity of his creations. Their world is simple, uncomplicated—and therefore thoroughly unreal. They love in a downright way; they fight in a sporting fashion, and they seem to enjoy both equally. Moral problems hardly exist. In spite of its dependence on the history books, Peele's picture of Edward's reign is far from accurate either in fact or in spirit. It is surely more from kindness than from conviction that Ribner treats *Edward I* as a serious history play.

Since most history plays, including Shakespeare's, are permeated by romance, the distinction between history and historical romance becomes one of emphasis. *Edward I* is a historical romance because its major concern is with the romantic elements. Conversely, Shake-

speare's plays about Henry V are properly considered history plays because, as Ribner says, they fulfill historical functions, despite the fact that the character of Henry, as both prince and King, is as much romance as history. Between the history play and the historical romance one can find examples which illustrate varying ways of combining these elements.

A tentative step in the direction of historical romance appears in *Edward III*. The early part of the play dramatizes a tale from Painter's *Palace of Pleasure* in which the King, charmed by the beauty of the Countess of Salisbury, puts aside his planned invasion of France for an assault upon the lady's chastity. Only when his base intentions are defeated by her threat of suicide does Edward conquer his lust and return to affairs of state. Despite this unhistorical intrigue, *Edward III* remains a history play because the romance materials subserve the historical part. The Countess of Salisbury interlude, in fact, is used to develop a main theme of the play, illustrating Edward's conquest of his passions before he becomes worthy to be conqueror of France.

Closer to the formula of *Edward I* and therefore to be included among the historical romances are Heywood's two plays on the reign of Edward IV, particularly the first. The Falconbridge rebellion, the foolery with the Tanner of Tamworth, and Edward's pursuit of Jane Shore are three distinct plots with little attempt at unification. There is a decided emphasis upon the romance elements. The Tanner of Tamworth episode, like the Greenwood combat in *Edward I*, is a purely comic interlude with no relation to the historical background. Heywood depicts Edward as the lover-king, concentrating on the historical monarch's reputation for gaiety and jesting. In the background is the shadow of Henry VI, prisoner in the Tower, and the opposition of the Lancastrians to Edward's supremacy, but the dynastic struggles, which Shakespeare, covering the same period in 3 *Henry VI* and *Richard III*, used as his main plot, are played down to give an idealized picture of a hearty king beloved by equally hearty subjects. Heywood's Edward IV is a worthy descendant of Peele's Longshanks.

In this tradition and still closer to Peele's blend of history and romance is Munday's *Downfall of the Earl of Huntington*, in which a plot based upon the legendary figure of Robin Hood be-

comes the principal matter. This invented tale is set against the background of the reign of Richard I, at the time when Prince John was attempting to usurp his brother's throne. The emphasis, however, is not so much upon John's tyranny as a royal prince and prospective king as upon his personal animosity toward the unfortunate Earl. All interest is focused upon the Greenwood, that idyllic land where even the most depraved find salvation, and John becomes the cruel prince of romance. Like Heywood, Munday does put into the mouths of these characters many of the political commonplaces that lie at the center of Shakespeare's history plays, but they are much too perfunctorily treated to be a vital element in the play.

In these works the historical facts providing the background are essentially correct, but they are only a backdrop before which the comedy is played. That backdrop is raised in plays like *Fair Em*, *the Miller's Daughter of Manchester*, Greene's *Scottish History of James IV*, and Day's *Blind Beggar of Bednal Green*, in which the only connection with history is in the names of characters whose activities have no foundation in fact. Here we arrive at the border between historical romance and comedy.

In this particular group of plays is one which may have exerted considerable influence on *Edward I*: Robert Greene's *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay*. With this play Greene rescued English comedy from the highly artificial pattern established by Lyly and set it into a more realistic path that was to lead eventually to Shakespeare's greatest comedies. In *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay* the romantic elements are set very solidly in an English forest, where an English milkmaid succeeds the delicate, shadowy heroines created by Lyly. Greene was the first to demonstrate that it is possible to exist in a rarefied atmosphere while keeping the feet firmly planted on the ground. The world in which he places the fair Maid of Fressingfield is at once real and ideal, just as Viola's Illyria is an idealized world with all the appurtenances of Elizabeth's England. Coupled with this creation of a new comic world is Greene's remarkable advance in characterization. Margaret is the first notable woman of Elizabethan drama; in spirit she looks forward directly to Portia and Rosalind. Her kinship with Shakespeare's heroines is most evident in her frank recognition of her love for Lacy and her un-

abashed acceptance of his proposal as she stands at the nunnery gates. This is no mere sentimental heroine, but one who knows precisely where her heart leads and who follows it. Undoubtedly it was cruel of Greene to force his heroine to accept Lacy after his shabby trick without allowing her a face-saving hesitancy—one feels that somehow Rosalind would have had Lacy crawling in the dust—but we can blame the necessity for a quick denouement rather than a flaw in the character of the heroine.

*Edward I* has something of the atmosphere of Greene's comedy. The romantic events occur in a setting whose realism is due, of course, to the historical background. However, the domestic scenes between the King and Queen and the courtship of Joan and Gloucester and of Lluellen and Elinor reveal the same idealization that pervades Greene's play. Peele is more heavy-handed, and his skill at characterization is inferior, but his lovely Nell would not be an incompatible companion for the Maid of Fressingfield. In fact, I should suggest that Peele owed a great deal directly to Greene. It may be more than coincidence that Prince Edward and Elinor of Castille are married at the end of *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay*. In that play Elinor is very slightly drawn, but in her few lines one detects the forthrightness that is the distinguishing characteristic of Peele's lovely Nell. At one point she remarks (l. 1757), "We Castile ladies are not very coy," and in keeping with that lack of coyness, she has made the long trip to England after seeing a handsome miniature of the Prince, avowedly to look on the real Prince, and if his portrait has not belied him, to accept him as her husband. All this, if you please, without bothering to consult the Prince's desires. Nor after looking him over does she hesitate; indeed, her precipitancy may in some quarters lay her open to a charge of unladylike behavior (ll. 1311-16):

Martiall Plantagenet, Henries high minded sonne,  
The marke that Ellinor did count her aime,  
I likte thee fore I saw thee, now I loue,  
And so as in so short a time I may:  
Yet so as time shall neuer breake that so,  
And therefore so accept of Ellinor.

Likewise in Greene's *Prince* one may see a foreshadowing of the proud lover-king of Peele's play. He is pictured as already having returned from a triumphant Crusade; as he struggles with himself when confronted by the confessions of mutual love by Lacy and Margaret, he says (ll. 1058-67):

Edward Art thou that famous prince of Wales,  
Who at Damasco beat the Sarasens,  
And broughtst home triumphe on thy launces point,  
And shall thy plumes be puld by Venus downe,  
Is it princely to disseuer louers leagues,  
To part such friends as glorie in their loues,  
Leaue Ned, and make a vertue of this fault,  
And further Peg and Lacie in their loues,  
So in subduing fancies passion,  
Conquering thy selfe thou getst the richest spoile.

The dishonorable role he plays in attempting to seduce Margaret is more than redeemed by his noble recognition of the honorable love expressed by Lacy. The abrupt transfer of his affections from Margaret to the Lady Elinor may disturb moralists, but Greene obviously did not intend that it should reflect on his *Prince*. The heartiness with which Elinor announces her decision to wed Edward is matched by his declaration in favor of her. To condemn these royal lovers for the ease with which their affections are bound up is simply to condemn a romantic convention. In this comedy there is no place for soulful struggles; similarly Peele's *King and Queen* are not beset by internal conflict. In neither play are Edward and Elinor fully developed characters, but accepted on their own grounds they are in both an appealing couple. One might also note that, like Peele, Greene frequently uses "lovely" to describe both Edward and Elinor.

I should not like to be misunderstood: I am not suggesting that Peele took over his characters ready-made from Greene's play. His debt to Greene is something less tangible; it is a matter of absorption rather than copying. In *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay* he detected a new spirit and a charming atmosphere which he attempted,

not altogether successfully, to imitate. Shakespeare's later success indicates that he was on the right track.

*Edward I*, thus, occupies an anomalous position both in the Peele canon and in the history of English drama. In individual characters and scenes it is at moments better than any of Peele's other works; taken as a whole, it is a failure. But in spite of its flaws it does show the directions in which the drama was moving, and, while one hesitates to suggest that such a play could have had much influence, it may even have helped chart one of the paths that later drama was to follow. That the path led chiefly downward is unfortunate, but evidently it is not the ascent alone that requires leadership.

## 6. THE TEXT

### A. EARLY EDITIONS

1. [Ornament: flowers with a crown, 14 × 55 mm.] THE / Famous Chronicle of king Edward / the first, sirnamed Edward Longshankes, / with his returne from the holy land. / *ALSO THE LIFE OF LLEVELLEN / rebell in Wales.* / Lastly, the sinking of Queene *Elinor*, who sunck / at *Charingcrosse*, and rose againe at *Potters-* / hith, now named *Queenehith*. / [Printer's device: McKerrow, §287] / LONDON / Printed by Abell Ieffes, and are to / be solde by William Barley, at his shop / in Gracious streete. 1593. /

HT] [Ornament] THE / Famous Chronicle historie of King / Edwarde the first, sirnamed Edward / Longshankes : with the sincking of Queene / *Elinor at Charingcrosse*, and her rising / againe at *Potters hith*, otherwise / called *Queene hith*. /

RT] *The Historie / of Edward Longshankes.* [Historie on AB<sub>4</sub><sup>v</sup>C<sub>1</sub><sup>v</sup>2<sup>v</sup>D<sub>1</sub><sup>v</sup>E–L<sub>2</sub><sup>v</sup>]

*Explicit] Yours. By George Peele Maister of / Artes in Oxenford. / Finis. /*

Collation] 4to. A–K<sub>4</sub>L<sub>3</sub>. 43 leaves unnumbered.

Contents] Title, A<sub>1</sub> (verso blank). Text with ornament, HT, and initial, A<sub>2</sub>. *Explicit*, L<sub>3</sub><sup>v</sup>.

Catchwords] A<sub>3</sub> And; B<sub>3</sub> For; C<sub>3</sub> *Friar.*; D<sub>3</sub> *Morti.*; E<sub>3</sub> Taken;

F<sub>3</sub> *Morti*; G<sub>3</sub> And; H<sub>3</sub> *Longs*; I<sub>3</sub> *Enter*; K<sub>3</sub> his; L<sub>3</sub> My. Typography] 37 ll. plus headline and direction line.

Roman 20 ll. × 81 mm.

151 (160) × 83 mm.

(A<sub>3</sub>, Huntington)

Copies] Bodleian

British Museum C.34.d.52

(head clipped; L<sub>1</sub>–3 defective)

Folger (Title page, K missing)

Huntington (FHK missing)

Variants]

		State 1	State 2	State 3
B <sub>1</sub> <sup>v</sup>	[l. 239]	stars (H)	stars, (FLO)	
B <sub>2</sub> <sup>v</sup>	[l. 299]	winue (L)	winne (FHO)	
D <sub>2</sub>	[l. 788]	trie (F)	trie (LO)	tie (H)
	[l. 803]	flies	flies,	flies
L <sub>2</sub>	[l. 2582]	ard (FO)	hard (HL)	

In l. 803 in the Folger and Huntington copies, the *s* in *flies* is imperfectly inked, so that it looks like a semi-colon (a mark which does not occur in Q<sub>1</sub>). The Q<sub>2</sub> *flie*; probably comes from a Q<sub>1</sub> copy with this reading. Apparently none of the three extant states of D<sub>2</sub> can be called correct, for we must assume that a comma inserted at the end of the line according to normal practice is the correct reading. Evidently after the printing of State 1, a comma was inserted after *flies*, and printing proceeded until it was noticed that *trie* was an error. In making the necessary correction, something happened to the inserted comma so that it failed to print in State 3. Proofing for this quarto was evidently by page, rather than by forme, since no two of the four pages bearing corrections are of the same forme.

This quarto was printed with two sets of running titles. One set appears in outer AB, inner and outer C, inner D, and outer E–L; the second on inner AB, outer D, and inner E–L. Correspondences between these titles indicate that the printers normally followed the imposition pattern diagrammed by Moxon, rather than that given by McKerrow.<sup>15</sup>

15. Joseph Moxon, *Mechanick Exercises* (1683), ed. Theo L. DeVinne (New York, 1896), 2, plate 26, opp. p. 234; R. B. McKerrow, *An Introduction to Bibliography* (Oxford, 1928), pp. 16–17. The whole problem is discussed

This quarto was set up by two compositors, one working from the beginning to about E<sub>1</sub>, the other completing the play. However, there seems no ground for different editorial treatment of these two sections.<sup>16</sup>

The printing is generally poor. Worn type fonts did not always take ink well, and whole pages are frequently difficult to read. Occasionally ink has soaked through a sheet sufficiently to obscure the printing on the reverse side. Apart from the excessive amount of textual corruption, the most distressing aspect of this quarto from the editor's viewpoint is the punctuation, which, judged even by sixteenth-century standards, is unusually careless.

2. [Ornament: lace border, 18 × 78 mm.] THE / Famous Chronicle / of king Edwarde the / first, sirnamed Edvvarde Long-shankes, with his returne from / the Holy land. / Also the life of *Lleuellen*, rebell in Wales. / Lastly, the sinking of Queene *Elinor*, who suncke at / Charing-crosse, and rose againe at Potters- / hith, now named Queene-hith. / [Printer's device: McKerrow, §165] / Imprinted at London by VV. VVhite / dwelling in Cow-lane. / 1599. /

HT] [Lace border] The Famous Chronicle / Historie of King Edvvard the first, sir- / named Edvvarde Long-shankes : with / *the sinking of Queene Elinor at Charing-crosse*, and her rising againe / *at Potters-hith, other wise* / called Queene-hith. /

RT] *The Historie / of Edward Longshankes*. [Historie on \$1<sup>v</sup>2<sup>v</sup>; Of on C-I<sub>3,4</sub>.]

Explicit] *Yours*. By George Peele Maister / of Artes in Oxenford. / FINIS. /

Collation] 4to. A-I<sub>4</sub>. 36 leaves unnumbered.

Contents] Title, A<sub>1</sub> (verso blank). Text with ornament and HT, A<sub>2</sub>. *Explicit*, I<sub>4</sub><sup>v</sup>.

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at length in F. T. Bowers, "Notes on Running-titles as Bibliographical Evidence," *The Library*, Ser. 4, 19 (1939-40), 315-338.

16. For details see my article, "The Two Compositors in the First Quarto of Peele's *Edward I*," *Studies in Bibliography*, 7 (1955), 170-177.

Catchwords] A<sub>2</sub> What; B<sub>2</sub> Wench; C<sub>2</sub> That; D<sub>2</sub> What; E<sub>2</sub> Enter; F<sub>3</sub> But; G<sub>3</sub> *Longsh.*; H<sub>3</sub> but; I<sub>3</sub> *lone*.

Typography] 42 ll. plus head line and direction line.

Roman 20 ll. × 66 mm.

138 (148) × 77 mm.

(B<sub>4</sub><sup>v</sup>, Huntington)

Copies] British Museum C.34.d.53 and 162.d.51

Bodleian

Dyce Collection (Victoria and Albert Museum)

Folger (two copies)

Harvard

Huntington

Variants		State 1		State 2 <sup>17</sup>
D <sub>1</sub> <sup>v</sup>	[l. 891]	fathrs	(Bodleian)	fathers
E <sub>1</sub> <sup>v</sup>	[l. 1162]	why,	(BM C.34.d.53, Folger)	why?
	[l. 1209]	Frier		Friar
E <sub>2</sub>	[l. 1220]	parton	(BM C.34.d.53, Folger)	part on
G <sub>1</sub>	[l. 1769]	cast	(BM 162.d.51, Bodleian,	cash
	[l. 1770]	cast	Huntington)	cash

In addition, on D<sub>1</sub><sup>v</sup> ll. 882–885 in the Bodleian copy are not justified. In the other copies the same type setting is retained, but the lines are justified. A like case occurs on E<sub>3</sub><sup>v</sup>, where BM C.34.d.53 and Folger copies have ll. 1354–60, printed as five lines of prose in this quarto, unjustified. In corrected copies, the same type-setting is retained, but the lines are justified. Evidently proofing in E was by forme, since variants appear on three pages, all of the inner forme.

In BM C.34.d.53, Dyce, Folger, Harvard, and Bodleian copies at the top of D<sub>3</sub>, *We*, the first word on the page, occurs just above the *he* of *Then*, first word in the second line; in other copies, *We* is above *Th*. This suggests that the chase was loosened after first being adjusted, evidently to prevent printing of a slight vertical line at the left margin apparently resulting from

17. Readings in this column are for all copies collated except those noted as preserving State 1. One Folger copy has not been available for collation.

ink on the furniture or frisket. The only other change is correction of a slightly irregular spacing between the last two letters of *for* in the second line. At the top of C<sub>4</sub> the Huntington and British Museum 162.d.51 copies have the speech ascription *Maris*; other copies have *aris*, evidently the result of a frisket bite.

This quarto was printed with one set of running titles, the only change being a substitution of *Of* for *of* in C. As in Q<sub>1</sub>, the correspondences between titles indicate that the printer was following Moxon's imposition pattern.

Q<sub>2</sub> is a superior piece of printing. The type, a smaller font than that used in Q<sub>1</sub>, was in good condition and took ink well, so that Q<sub>2</sub> is far easier on the eye than is its predecessor. Q<sub>2</sub> was evidently set from a printed copy of Q<sub>1</sub>. Except for one place where it realigns what is obviously doggerel verse misprinted as prose by Q<sub>1</sub> (ll. 1800-03), Q<sub>2</sub> follows Q<sub>1</sub> in all its lineation errors; good examples are found in scene 2 (ll. 364-383 and 429-447), where both print prose as verse, and in scene 18, where a scene in blank verse is printed as prose in both. Obvious textual errors such as *Tum da et di te de te dum* for *Tum date dite dote dum* (l. 460), the extremely corrupt passage at ll. 2417-26, and the misplaced stage direction at l. 2673 are copied almost literatim and reveal clearly that the earlier quarto was used for copy. Q<sub>2</sub> is an "edited" text so far as mechanics of spelling, punctuation, and capitalization are concerned. Although the "editor" sometimes erred in interpreting a passage, the improved punctuation makes Q<sub>2</sub> considerably easier to read than Q<sub>1</sub>. Other changes are generally limited to such improvements as correction of turned or transposed letters. A few erroneous readings are put right, but such restoration might be made by any casual reader (see ll. 2050, 2058, 2269, 2564). When we take into consideration the new mechanical errors inadvertently introduced, it is doubtful whether the second quarto, except for punctuation and the general condition of the typography and paper, represents any improvement over the quarto of 1593. Certainly there is no solution of any textual crux; nonsense remains nonsense, and there is no possibility that Q<sub>2</sub> can have any textual authority.

## B. LATER EDITIONS

3. In Vol. 11 of Robert Dodsley, *A Select Collection of Old Plays*, new ed., ed. J. P. Collier, 12 vols., London, 1825-33. Modernizes spelling and punctuation; the text is freely emended, and not all the original readings are recorded. Stage directions are little changed; no attempt is made to divide the play into scenes.

4. In Vol. 1 of *The Works of George Peele: Now First Collected*, ed. Alexander Dyce, 2 vols., London, 1828. (This edition has not been available.)

5. In Vol. 1 of *The Works of George Peele*, ed. Alexander Dyce, 2d ed., 2 vols., London, 1829. A third volume was added in 1839. Although called a second edition, this is evidently only a reprint of the edition of the preceding year. Spelling and punctuation are modernized, and the text is freely emended; some care has been taken to give collations with the early quartos, but there are a number of omissions. The play is not divided into scenes. Annotations are not extensive.

6. In *The Dramatic and Poetical Works of Robert Greene & George Peele*, ed. Alexander Dyce, London, 1861. Reprinted in 1874 with date of reprinting on the title page. The treatment of the text follows that of the earlier Dyce edition, but the notes and emendations are far more extensive.

7. In Vol. 1 of *The Works of George Peele*, ed. A. H. Bullen, 2 vols., London, 1888. The treatment of the text is similar to that of Dyce. This is the first edition in which an attempt is made to divide the play into scenes. Valuable notes by P. A. Daniel are included.

8. *King Edward the First*, ed. W. W. Greg (Oxford, 1911), Malone Society Reprint. A facsimile reprint of the quarto of 1593 prepared by collating the Bodleian and British Museum copies. There are no notes or emendations.

## C. THE PRESENT EDITION

The task of the editor is to recover so far as possible the words of his author, not to rewrite the play. Acceptable emendation, therefore, must not only satisfy the demands of the context, but allow some reasonable explanation of the source of corruption. I have

tried to keep to a minimum those emendations which merely improve an otherwise acceptable reading and those which, while apparently necessary, allow no explanation of the corruption. In many cases the nonsense of the original text stands because any choice among a number of equally unsatisfactory readings would be arbitrary.

The Bodleian copy of the quarto of 1593 is the copy text; all extant copies of the first quarto have been collated. Seven of the eight extant copies of the quarto of 1599 have been collated (one copy in the Folger Shakespeare Library has not been available). Although the second quarto has no textual authority, substantive variants have been recorded. Any attempt to give a complete collation of the two quartos would only obscure matters of importance, since there are more than 2,500 divergences in spelling and punctuation.

This text follows the original, except that *i*, *j*, *u*, and *v* are changed to conform with modern usage, long *s* is altered to modern *s*, *vv* to *w*, *æ* to *ae*, and *œ* to *oe*. Distinctions between italic and roman type are disregarded except on the title page, and abbreviations (limited to the ampersand and the bar over vowels to indicate omission of a following nasal consonant) have been silently expanded. Lower-case letters at the beginning of a speech have been silently changed. Obvious printer's errors in spacing have been corrected. The spelling of speech ascriptions has been regularized throughout, although such substantive variants as *King*, *Longshanks*, and *Edward* have been retained. All other changes are noted. Editorial insertions are enclosed within square brackets.

Rather than attempt the complete revision necessary to bring order to the erratic punctuation of the first quarto, I have followed the copy text, emending only to prevent misinterpretation. Three general principles have been followed: (1) each speech should end with a period or an interrogation mark; (2) all questions, except those obviously rhetorical, should be closed with interrogation marks; and (3) independent clauses not joined by conjunctions should be separated by a mark of punctuation (following the example of both quartos, I have generally inserted a comma when a mark must be supplied between independent elements). These simple rules have resulted in a large number of changes. Wherever

possible, the punctuation of the second quarto has been followed when emendation is necessary. The principal difficulty is the inconsistent use of the colon in the first quarto. I have followed the copy text except in instances where the colon separates such closely related syntactical elements as subject and verb.

Foreign words have not been treated systematically. Latin quotations, which are substantially correct in the quarto, have been reproduced *literatim*, as have the few French expressions, which are recognizable, even though phonetically spelled. On the other hand, Spanish phrases and an Italian quotation have been put right, since there seems to be no virtue in delaying the reader by reprinting the quarto gibberish.

Scene divisions have been added for convenience in discussing units of the play in the Introduction. Line numbers are consecutive throughout, excluding stage directions, which are given the number of the last line of dialogue preceding the direction. Page signatures of the original edition are indicated in brackets at the margin of the text.

In the collations, variant readings are separated by a semicolon (a mark which does not appear in Q<sub>1</sub> or in my text, although it does occur in one or two collations in readings from Q<sub>2</sub>, where it is used frequently). Spelling variations are not considered in recording readings from nineteenth-century editions. Punctuation readings include the word immediately preceding the mark. Where punctuation is the point at issue, variations in spelling are ignored. Thus, at l. 1310, the readings are for Q<sub>1</sub>, "Frier" and for Q<sub>2</sub>, "Friar," and the collation is "*Frier*,] Q<sub>2</sub>; Frier Q<sub>1</sub>."

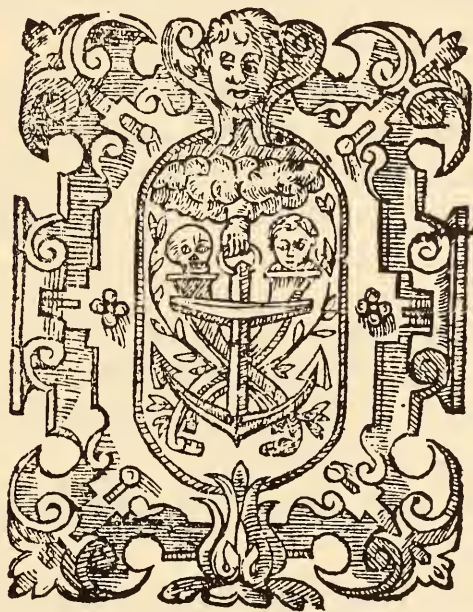




THE  
Famous Chronicle of king Edward  
the first, surnamed Edward Longshankes,  
with his returne from the holyland.

ALSO THE LIFE OF LLEVELLEN  
*rebell in Wales.*

Lastly, the sinking of Queene *Elinor*, who sunck  
at *Charingcrosse*, and rose againe at *Potters-*  
*hith*, now named *Queenehith*.



LONDON  
Printed by Abell Ieffes, and are to  
be solde by William Barley, at his shop  
in Gracious streete 1593.

## [CHARACTERS OF THE PLAY]

### I. SPEAKING PARTS

#### THE ENGLISH

Edward I, called Longshanks, King of England  
Edmund, Duke of Lancaster, brother of the King  
Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester  
Mortimer, Earl of March  
Earl of Sussex  
Sir Thomas Spencer  
Bishop  
Soldier  
John, servant to Potter's Wife  
First Messenger  
Second Messenger  
  
Elinor of Castille, Queen of England  
Helinor, Queen Mother  
Joan of Acon, daughter of Queen Elinor  
Elinor de Montfort, fiancée of Lluellen  
Mary Bearmbar, wife of the Lord Mayor of London  
Katherine, lady-in-waiting to Queen Elinor  
Potter's Wife

#### THE WELSH

Lluellen, Prince of Wales  
David of Brecknock, Lluellen's brother  
Rice ap Meredith } supporters of Lluellen  
Owen ap Rice }  
Guenther }  
Friar Hugh ap David, called Friar Tuck  
Jack, the Friar's novice  
Morgan Pigot, the Welsh Harper  
Soldier  
Mantle Baron  
Farmer  
Pedler

Guenthian, the Friar's wench

THE SCOTS

John Balliol, King of Scotland

Lord Versses

Scottish lord

II. WALK-ONS

Cressingham

Robert Bruce

Scottish lords (7)

Scottish pages (9)

Welsh barons (3)

Negro Moors (4)

Footmen (4)

Barbers (2)

Ancient

Heralds

Lords attendant, both English and Scottish

Musicians

Soldiers

Sailors

Nurse

Ladies-in-waiting

III. UNEXPLAINED CHARACTERS

Signor Montfort, Earl of Leicester (l. 40, S.D.)

Charles de Montfort (l. 40, S.D.)

Potter (l. 2247, S.D.)

Mary, Duchess of Lancaster (l. 1453, S.D.) ] \*

\* Qq omit entire list.

[SCENE 1]

*Enter Gilbert de Clare Earle of Glocester, with [A2]  
the Earle of Sussex, Mortimer the Earle of March, David  
Lluellens brother, waiting on Helinor the Queene mother.*

*The Queene Mother.*

My Lord lieutenant of Glocester, and Lord Mortimer,  
To do you honor in your Soveraignes eyes,  
That as we heare is newly come aland,  
From Palestine, with all his men of warre:  
The poore remainder of the royall Fleete,  
Preserv'd by miracle in Sicill Roade,  
Go mount your Coursers, meete him on the way,  
Pray him to spur his Steede, minutes are houres,  
Untill his mother see hir princely sonne,  
10 Shining in glory of his safe returne.

*Exeunt Lords. Manet Queene Mother.*

Illustrious England, auncient seat of kings,  
Whose chivalrie hath roiallized thy fame:  
That sounding bravely through terrestiall vaile,  
Proclaiming conquests, spoiles, and victories,  
Rings glorious Ecchoes through the farthest worlde.  
What warlike nation trained in feates of armes,  
What barbarous people, stubborne or untaind, [A2<sup>v</sup>]  
What climate under the Meridian signes,  
Or frozen Zone under his brumall stage,  
20 Erst have not quaked and trembled at the name  
Of Britaine, and hir mightie Conquerours?  
Her neighbor realmes as Scotland, Denmarke, France,  
Aude with their deedes, and jealous of her armes,  
Have begd defensive and offensive leagues.  
Thus Europe riche and mightie in her kings,  
Hath feard brave England dreadfull in her kings:

1 *Lord*] Q2; L. Q1

6 *Roade,*] Roade. Qq

8 *are*] C Dyce 3 B; and Qq

And now to eternize Albions Champions,  
 Equivalent with Trojans auncient fame,  
 Comes lovely Edward from Jerusalem,  
 30 Veering before the winde, plowing the sea,  
 His stretched sailes fild with the breath of men,  
 That through the world admires his manlines.  
 And loe at last, arived in Dover roade,  
 Longshankes your king, your glory and our sonne,  
 With troopes of conquering Lords and warlike knights,  
 Like bloody crested Mars orelookes his hoste,  
 Higher then all his armie by the head,  
 Martching along as bright as Phoebus eyes,  
 And we his mother shall beholde our sonne,  
 40 And Englands Peeres shall see their Soverainge.

*The Trumpets sound, and enter the traine, viz. his  
 maimed Souldiers with headpeeces and Garlands on them,  
 every man with his red Crosse on his coate: the Ancient  
 borne in a Chaire, his Garland and his plumes on his  
 headpeece, his Ensigne in his hand. Enter after them  
 Glocester and Mortimer bareheaded, and others as many  
 as may be. Then Longshanks and his wife Elinor, Ed-  
 mund Couchback, and Jone and Signior Moumfort the  
 Earle of Leicester, prisoner, with Sailers and Souldiers,  
 and Charles de Moumfort his brother.*

Edmund, Edward, O my sweete sonnes.

*And then she fals and sounds.*

Long. Helpe Ladies: O ingrateful desteny, [A3]  
 To welcome Edward with this tragedie.

Gloc. Patient your highnes, tis but mothers love,  
 Receiv'd with sight of her thrice valiant sonnes:  
 Madam amaze not, see his Majestie  
 Returnd with glory from the holy land.

- 34 *Longshankes*] Longshanke Qq  
 40 *SD Leicester,*] *Leicesters* Qq  
 41 *Edmund*] *Glocester* Qq

*Mother.* Brave sons the worthy Champions of our God,  
 The honourable souldiers of the highest,  
 50 Beare with your mother whose abundant love,  
 With teares of joye salutes your sweete returne,  
 From famous journeys hard and fortunate.  
 But lordes alas how heavie is our losse,  
 Since your departure to these Christian warres,  
 The king your Father, and the prince your sonne,  
 And your brave Unkle Almaines Emperour,  
 Aye me are dead.

*Long.* Take comfort madam, leave these sad laments,  
 Deare was my unckle, dearer was my sonne,  
 60 And ten times dearer was my noble father,  
 Yet were their lives valewd at thousand worlds,  
 They cannot scape the arrest of dreadfull death:  
 Death that dooth seaze and sommon all alike.  
 Then leaving them to heavenly blessednes,  
 To joyne in thrones of glory with the just,  
 I doo salute your royall Majestie,  
 My gracious mother Queene, and you my lordes,  
 Gilbert de Clare, Sussex, and Mortimer,  
 And all the princely states of Englands peeres,  
 70 With health and honor to your harts content,  
 And welcome wished England on whose ground,  
 These feete so often have desird to tread,  
 Welcome sweete Queene my fellow Traveller,  
 Welcome sweete Nell my fellow mate in armes,  
 Whose eyes have seene the slaughtered Sarazens,  
 Pil'de in the ditches of Jerusalem,  
 And lastly welcome manly followers,  
 That beares the scars of honor and of armes,  
 And on your war drums carry crownes as kings, [A3<sup>v</sup>]  
 80 Crowne Murall, Navall, and triumphant all,  
 At view of whom the Turkes have trembling fled,

51 *joye*] Dyce + B; *joyes* Qq

59 *sonne,*] Q2; *sonne:* Q1

66 *Majestie,*] *Majestie.* Qq

And Sarazens like sheepe before the wolves,  
 Have made their cottages in walled townes,  
 But Bulwarkes had no fence to beate you back,  
 Lords, these are they will enter brasen gates,  
 And teare down lime and Morter with their nailes.  
 Imbrace them Barons, these have got the name,  
 Of English Gentlemen and knights at armes:  
 Not one of these but in the Champaine field,  
 Hath wonne his crowne, his collar and his spurs,  
 Not Caesar leading through the streetes of Rome,  
 The captive kings of conquered nations,  
 Was in his princely triumphes honoured more,  
 Then English Edward in this martiall sight.

Countrimen

Your lims are lost in service of the Lord,  
 Which is your glory and your Countries fame,  
 For lims, you shall have living, lordships, lands,  
 And be my counsellors in warres affaires:  
 Souldiers sit downe, Nell sit thee by my side,  
 These be prince Edwards pompious treasurie.

*The Queene Mother being set on the one side, and  
 Queene Elinor on the other, the king sitteth in the mid-  
 dest mounted highest, and at his feete the Ensigne un-  
 derneath him.*

O glorious Capitoll, beautious Senate house,  
 Triumphant Edward, how like sturdie Oakes,  
 Do these thy Souldiers circle thee about,  
 To shield and shelter thee from winters stormes?  
 Display thy crosse, old Aimes of the Vies,  
 Dub on your Drums tand with Indiaes sunne,  
 My lustie westerne lads, Matreveirs thou,

82 *wolves*] Dyce 3 B; walles Qq

83 *in walled*] Q1; inwalled Q2

85 *are*] Dyce + B; and Qq

87 *Barons,*] Q2; Barons Q1

95-96 One line in Qq

Sound proudly here a perfect point of warre,  
 110 In honour of thy Sovereignes safe returne.  
 Thus Longshanks bids his Souldiers *Bien veneu*.

*Use Drummes, Trumpets, and Ensignes, and then* [A4]  
*speake Edward.*

*Edw.* O God my God, the brightnes of my daye,  
 How oft hast thou preserv'd thy servant safe,  
 By sea and land, yea in the gates of death,  
 O God to thee how highly am I bound,  
 For setting me with these on English ground?  
 One of my mansion houses will I give,  
 To be a colledge for my maimed men,  
 Where every one shall have an hundred markes  
 120 Of yearely pention to his maintenance,  
 A Souldier that for Christ and countrie fightes,  
 Shall want no living whilst king Edward lives,  
 Lords you that love me now be liberall,  
 And give your larges to these maimed men.

*Q. Moth.* Towards this erection doth thy mother give,  
 Out of her dowrie, five thousand pounds of gold,  
 To finde them Surgeons to recure their wounds,  
 And whilst this auncient Standard bearer lives,  
 He shall have fortie pound of yeerely fee,  
 130 And be my Beadsman father if you please.

*Long.* Madam I tell you England never bred,  
 A better souldier then your Beadsman is,  
 And that the Souldan and his Armie felt.

*Edmund.* Out of the dutchie of riche Lancaster,  
 To finde soft bedding for their bruized bones,  
 Duke Edmund gives three thousand pounds.

*Long.* Gramercies brother Edmund,  
 Happie is England under Edwards raigne,  
 When men are had so highly in regarde,  
 140 That Nobles strive who shall remunerate,  
 The souldiers resolution with regarde.  
 My Lord of Glocester what is your benevolence?

*Gloc.* A thousand markes and please your Majestie.

*Long.* And yours my lord of Sussex?

*Sussex.* Five hundred pound, and please your majestie.

*Long.* What say you sir David of Brecknock? [A4<sup>v</sup>]

*David.* To a souldier sir David cannot be too liberall, yet  
that I may give no more then a poore knight is able and not  
presume as a mightie Earle, I give my Lord foure hundred,  
150 foure score, and nineteene poundes: and so my lord of  
Sussex I am behind you an ace.

*Sussex.* And yet sir David ye aumble after apace.

*Long.* Wel said David, thou couldst not be a Camber Britain  
if thou didst not love a souldier with thy hart: let me see  
now if my Arithmeticke wil serve to totall the particulars.

*Q. Eli.* Why my lord, I hope you meane I shal be a bene-  
factor to my fellow souldiers.

*Long.* And wel said Nell. What wilt thou I set downe for  
thee?

160 *Q. Eli.* Nay my lord, I am of age to set it down for my self.  
You will alowe what I do, will you not?

*Long.* That I will Maddam, were it to the value of my king-  
dome.

*Q. Eli.* What is the summe my lord?

*Long.* Ten thousand pounds my Nell.

*Q. Eli.* Then Elinor bethinke thee of a gift worthie the king  
of Englandes wife, and the king of Spaines daughter, and  
give such a largis, that the Chronicles of this land may crake  
with record of thy liberalitie. *Parturient montes: nascetur*  
170 *ridiculus mus,*

146 *Brecknock?*] Brecknock. Qq

147-163 Qq lineate: . . . liberall, / . . . able / . . . Earle, / . . . score,  
/ . . . poundes: / . . . ace. / . . . apace. / . . . Britain / . . . hart, / . . .  
serve, / . . . particulars. / . . . meane, / . . . souldiers. / . . . Nell. / . . .  
thee? / . . . self. / . . . not? / . . . Maddam, / . . . kingdome.

153 *David,*] Da. Q1; David Q2

154 *hart:*] hart, Qq

155 *serve*] serve, Qq

156 *lord,*] lord Qq      *meane*] meane, Qq

160 *lord,*] lord Qq

165 *Ten thousand*] 10000 Qq

*shee makes a Cipher.*

There my lord, neither one, two, nor three, but a poore Cipher in Agrum, to inrich good fellowes, and compound their figure in their kinde.

*Long.* Madam I commend your composition, an argument of your honourable disposition: sweete Nell thou shouldst not be thy selfe, did not with thy mounting minde, thy gift surmount the rest.

*Gloc.* Cal you this *Ridiculus mus*? mary sir, this [B1] mouse would make a foule hole in a faire Cheese, tis but a  
180 Cipher in Agrum, and it hath made of ten thousand pounds, a hundred thousand pounds.

*Edmund.* A princely gift and worthy memorie.

*Gloc.* My gracious Lord, as erst I was assignde,  
Lieutenant to his Majestie,  
Here render I up the crowne left in charge with me,  
By your princely father king Henrie,  
Who on his death bed still did call for you,  
And dying, wild to you the Diadem.

*Long.* Thankes worthie Lordes,  
190 And seeing by doome of heavens it is decreed,  
And lawful line of our succession,  
Unworthy Edward is become your king,  
We take it as a blessing from on hie,  
And wil our Coronation be solemnized,  
Upon the fourteenth of December next.

*Q. Eli.* Upon the fourteenth of December next?  
Alas my Lord, the time is all too short  
And sudden, for so great solemnitie:

171-181 Qq lineate: . . . three, / . . . fellowes, / . . . kinde. / . . . composition, / . . . disposition: / . . . selfe, / . . . minde, / . . . rest. / . . . mouse / . . . Cheese, / . . . Agrum, / . . . pounds:

178 *sir,*] *sir* Qq

180 *ten thousand*] 10000. Qq

181 *a hundred thousand*] 100000 Qq      *pounds.*] Q2; pounds: Q1

195 *fourteenth*] 14. Qq

196 *fourteenth*] 14. Qq

A yeare were scarce enough to set aworke,  
 Tailers, Imbroderes, and men of rare device,  
 For preparation of so great estate.  
 Trust me sweete Ned, hardlie shal I bethinke me,  
 In twentie weekes what fashion robes to weare,  
 I pray thee then deferre it till the spring,  
 That we may have our garments point device.  
 I meane to send for Tailers into Spaine,  
 That shall confer of some fantastickt sutes,  
 With those that be our conningst Englishmen,  
 What? let me brave it now or never Ned.

210 *Long.* Madam content ye, would that were greatest care,  
 You shall have garments to your harts desire,  
 I never red but Englishmen exceld,  
 For change of rare devises every way.

*Q. Eli.* Yet pray thee Ned, my love, my lord, and king,  
 My fellow souldier, and compeere in armes,  
 Do so much honour to thy Elinor, [B1<sup>v</sup>]  
 To weare a sute that shee shall give thy grace,  
 Of her owne cost and workmanship perhaps.

*Q. Moth.* Twil come by leasure daughter then I feare,  
 220 Th'art too fine fingard to be quick at worke.

*Long.* Twixt us a greater matter breakes no square,  
 So be it such my Nell as may beseeme,  
 The majestie and greatnes of a king.  
 And now my Lords and loving friends,  
 Follow your Generall to the court,  
 After his travels to repose him then,  
 There to recount with pleasure what is past,  
 Of warres alarums, showres, and sharpest stormes.

*Exeunt all, saving the Queene and her daughter.*

*Q. Eli.* Now Elinor, now Englands lovely Queene,  
 230 Bethinke thee of the greatnes of thy state:

199 *aworke*] Q<sub>2</sub>; a worke Q<sub>1</sub>

210 *care,*] Q<sub>2</sub>; care Q<sub>1</sub>

218 *owne*] Q<sub>2</sub>; one Q<sub>1</sub>

230 *state*] Q<sub>1</sub>; estate Q<sub>2</sub>

And how to beare thy selfe with roialtie,  
 Above the other Queenes of Christendome,  
 That Spaine reaping renowne by Elinor,  
 And Elinor adding renowne to Spaine,  
 Britaine may her magnificence admire.  
 I tell thee Jone, what time our highnes sits,  
 Under our royall Canopie of state,  
 Glistering with pendants of the purest gold,  
 Like as our seate were spangled all with stars,  
 240 The world shall wonder at our majestie,  
 As if the daughter of eternall Ops,  
 Turnd to the likenes of Vermilion fumes,  
 When from her cloudie wombe the Centaures lept,  
 Were in her royall seate inthronized.

*Jone.* Madam, if Jone thy daughter may advise,  
 Let not your honour make your manners change,  
 The people of this land are men of warre,  
 The women courteous, milde, and debonaire,  
 Laying their lives at princes feete,  
 250 That governes with familiar majestie,  
 But if their soveraignes once gin swell with pride,  
 Disdanning commons love which is the strength, [B2]  
 And surenes of the richest common welth:  
 That Prince were better live a private life,  
 Then rule with tirannie and discontent.

*Q. Eli.* Indeed we count them headstrong Englishmen:  
 But we shall hold them in a Spanish yoake,  
 And make them know their Lord and soveraigne.  
 Come daughter let us home for to provide:  
 260 For all the cunning work-men of this Ile,  
 In our great chamber shall bee set aworke,  
 And in my hall shall bountifully feede.

- 239 *stars,*] FLO Q<sub>2</sub>; stars H  
 241 *of eternall*] Q<sub>1</sub>; of the eternall Q<sub>2</sub>  
 243 *When*] Where Qq  
 244 *Were*] Q<sub>1</sub>; Where Q<sub>2</sub>  
 256 *Englishmen:*] Q<sub>2</sub>; Englishmen Q<sub>1</sub>  
 257 *yoake,*] Q<sub>2</sub>; yoake. Q<sub>1</sub>

My King like Phoebus bridegroom like shall marche  
 With lovely Thetis to her glassie bed,  
 And all the lookers on shall stand amazde,  
 To see King Edward and his lovely Queene,  
 Sit lovely in Englands stately throne.

*Exeunt Ambo.*

[ SCENE 2 ]

*Enter Lluellen, alias Prince of Wales: Rice ap Meredeth,  
 Owen ap Rice, with swordes and bucklers and freese  
 Jerkins.*

*Lluel.* Come Rice and rouse thee for thy countries good,  
 Followe the man that meanes to make you great:  
 270 Follow Lluellen rightfull prince of Wales,  
 Sprong from the loines of great Cadwallader,  
 Discended from the loines of Trojan Brute,  
 And though the traiterous Saxons, Normans, Danes,  
 Have pent the true remanes of glorious Troy,  
 Within the westerne mountaines of this Ile,  
 Yet have we hope to clime these stonie pales,  
 When Londoners as Romans earst amazde,  
 Shall trembling crie Lluellens at the gate.  
 T'accomplish this, thus have I brought you forth,  
 280 Disguise to Milford haven, here attend,  
 The landing of the ladie Æliner.  
 Her stay doth make me muse, the winde stands faire:  
 And ten dayes hence we did expect them heere, [B2<sup>v</sup>]  
 Neptune be favourable to my love,  
 And steere hir keele with thy three forked mace,  
 That from this shore I may behold her sailes,  
 And in mine armes embrace my deerest deare.

264 *Thetis*] C Dyce + B; Xheis Qq

270 *Wales*,] Q2; Wales. Q1

273 *traiterous*] Q2; tariterous Q1

274 *pent*] C Dyce + B; spent Qq      *remanes*] C Dyce + B;  
 Romans Qq

*Rice.* Brave prince of Wales, this honorable matche,  
Cannot but turne to Cambrias common good.

290 *Simon de Momfort, her thrise valiant sire,  
That in the Barons warres was Generall,  
Was lov'd and honoured of the Englishmen.  
When they shall heare, shees your espoused wife,  
Assure your grace we shall have great supplie,  
To make our roades in England mightilie.*

*Owen.* What we resolv'd, must strongly be performd,  
Before the king returne from Palestine,  
Whilst he wins glorie at Jerusalem,  
Let us winne ground upon the Englishmen.

300 *Lluel.* Owen ap Rice, tis that Lluellen feares,  
I feare me Edward will be come ashore,  
Ere we can make provision for the warre.  
But be it as it will, within his court  
My brother David is, that beares a face,  
As if he were my greatest enemye,  
He by this craft shall creepe into her heart,  
And give intelligence from time to time,  
Of her intentions, driftes and stratagems.  
Heere let us rest upon the salt sea shore,  
310 And while our eyes long for our hearts desires,  
Let us like friends pastime us on the sands,  
Our frolike mindes are ominous for good.

*Enter Friar Hugh ap David, Guenthian his wench in  
Flannell, and Jack his Novice.*

*Friar.* Guenthian as I am true man,  
So will I doo the best I can:  
Guenthian as I am true Priest,  
So will I bee at thy behest:  
Guenthian as I am true Friar,  
So wil I be at thy desire.

[B<sub>3</sub>]

*Novice.* My maister stands too neere the fier,

290 *sire*] B; sonne Qq

299 *winne*] FHO Q<sub>2</sub>; winue L

301 *ashore*] a shore Qq

320 Trust him not wench, he will proove a liar.

*Lluel.* True man, true Friar, true priest, and true knave,  
These foure in one this trull shall have.

*Friar.* Heere sweare I by my shaven crowne,  
Wench if I give thee a gay greene gowne,  
Ile take thee up as I laid thee downe,  
And never bruze nor batter thee.

*Novice.* O sweare not maister, flesh is fraile,  
Wenche when the signe is in the taile,  
Mightie is love and will prevaile,

330 This Churchman dooth but flatter thee.

*Lluel.* A prittie worme, and a lustie friar,  
Made for the field, not for the quire.

*Guenth.* Mas Friar as I am true maide,  
So do I hold me well apaide:  
Tis Churchmans laie and veritie,  
To live in love and charitie,  
And therefore weene I as my creede,  
Your wordes shall companie my deed,  
Davie my deare, I yeeld in all,

340 Thine owne to goe and come at call.

*Rice.* And so farre foorth begins our braule.

*Friar.* Then my Guenthian to begin,  
Sith idlenes in love is sinne,  
Boie to the towne I will thee hie,  
And so returne even by and by,  
When thou with cakes and muskadine,  
And other junkets good and fine,  
Hast fild thy bottle and thy bagge.

*Novice.* Now maister as I am true wag,

350 I will be neither late nor lag,  
But goe and come with gossips cheere,  
Ere Gib our Cat can lick her eare.

For long agoe I learned in schoole,  
That lovers desire, and pleasures coole

[B<sub>3</sub><sup>v</sup>]

322 *have.*] Q<sub>2</sub>; have, Q<sub>1</sub>

354 *coole*] coole: Q<sub>q</sub>

Sans Ceres wheat and Bacchus vine,  
Now maister for the Cakes and Wine.

*Exit Novice.*

*Friar.* Wench to passe away the time in glee,  
Guenthian set thee downe by me,  
And let our lips and voices meete,  
360 In a merrie countrey songe.

*Guenth.* Friar, I am at beck and baye,  
And at thy commaundement to sing and say,  
And other sportes among.

*Owen.* I marry my lord, this is somewhat like a mans mony,  
heeres a wholesome Welsh wench, lapt in her Flannell as  
warme as wooll, and as fit as a pudding for a Friars mouthe.

*The Friar and Guenthian sing: Lluelien speakes to them.*

[*Lluel.*] *Pax vobis, pax vobis*, good fellowes faire fall yee.

*Friar.* *Et cum spiritu tuo.* Friends have you any thing els  
to say to the Friar?

370 *Owen.* Much good doo you, much good [doo] you, my  
maisters heartelie.

*Friar.* And you sir when yee eate: have ye any thing els to  
say to the Friar?

*Lluel.* Nothing, but I would gladly know, if mutton be your  
first dish, what shalbe your last service.

*Friar.* It may bee sir I count it physicke to feede but on one  
dish at a sitting: Sir would you any thing els with the Friar?

*Rice.* O nothing sir, but if you had any manners, you might  
bid us fall too.

355 *Sans Ceres wheat*] Dyce 3 B; Sanct [Saint Q2] Ceres sweetes Qq

358 *set*] Q1; sit Q2

364-383] Qq lineate: . . . mony, / . . . wench, / . . . wooll, / . .  
mouthe. / . . . yee. / . . . *tuo*. / . . . Friar? / . . . you, / . . . heartelie.  
/ . . . eate: / . . . Friar? / . . . know, / . . . service. / . . . physicke,  
/ . . . sitting: / . . . Friar? / . . . manners, / . . . too. / . . . enough, /  
. . . Friar? / . . . sir, / . . . little.

367 *Lluel.*] Qq omit

370 *doo*] C Dyce + B; Qq omit

376 *physicke*] physicke, Qq

378 *had*] Q1; have Q2

380 *Friar.* Nay and that be the matter, good enough, is this all  
yee have to say to the Friar?

*Lluel.* All we have to say to you sir, it may be sir, we would  
walke aside with your wenche a little.

*Friar.* My maisters and frends, I am a poore Friar, a [B4]  
man of Gods making, and a good fellow as you are, legs,  
feete, face and hands, and hart, from top to toe, of my  
word, right shape and Christendome: and I love a wenche  
as a wench should be loved, and if you love your selfe,  
walke good friends I pray you, and let the Friar alone with  
390 his flesh.

*Lluel.* O Friar, your holie mother the church teaches you to  
abstaine from these morsels, therfore my maisters tis a deed  
of charitie to remoove this stumbling block, a faire wench,  
a shrewd temptation to a Friars conscience.

*Guenth.* Friend if you knew the Friar halfe so well as the  
bailie of Brecknock, you would think you might as soone  
moove Mannocke deny into the sea, as Guenthian from his  
side.

*Lluel.* Mas by your leave, weele proove.

400 *Guenth.* At your perill if you moove his patience.

*Friar.* Brother, brother, and my good Countrimen.

*Lluel.* Countrimen? nay I cannot thinke that an English friar  
will come so farre into Wales barefooted.

*Owen.* Thats more then you know, and yet my lord he  
might ride, having a fillie so neere.

*Friar.* Hands off good countriman, at few words and faire  
warnings.

*Lluel.* Countrimen, not so sir, wee renounce thee Friar, and  
refuse your countrie.

380 *matter,*] Q2; matter Q1

386 *hart,*] hart Qq

388 *selfe,*] Q2; selfe Q1

389 *you*] Q1; Q2 omits

397 *Mannocke deny*] munck Davie Qq      *Guenthian*] Q2;

*Guenth.* Q1

402 *friar*] friar, Qq

405 *neere*] neeere Q1; neare Q2

407 *warnings.*] Q2; warnings: Q1

410 *Friar.* Then brother and my good friends, hands off and if  
you love your ease.

*Rice.* Ease me no easings, weele ease you of this carriage.

*Friar.* Fellow be gone quicklie, or my pike staffe and I will  
set thee away with a vengeance.

*Lluel.* I am sorie trust me to see the church so unpatient.

*Friar.* Yea, Dogs ounes, do me a shrowde turne and mocke  
me too, flesh and bloud will not beare this: then rise up  
Robart and say to Richard, *Redde rationem villicationis*  
*tuae*. Sir Countriman, kinsman, Englishman, Welshman, you  
420 with the Wenche, returne your *Habeas corpus*, heres a  
*Circiorari* for your *Procedendo*.

*Owen.* Holde friar, we are thy countriemen.

*Rice.* Payd, payd, Digone, we are they countrimen, *Mundue*.

*Friar.* My Countrymen? nay marry sir, shal you not [B4<sup>v</sup>]  
be my countrimen, you sir, you, specially you sir that re-  
fuse the Friar, and renounce his countrie.

*Lluel.* Friar, hold thy hands, I sweare as I am a Gentleman,  
I am a Welshman, and so are the rest of honestie.

*Friar.* Of honestie saiest thou? They are neither Gentlemen  
430 nor Welshmen, that will denie their countrie: Come hither  
wenche, Ile have about with them once more, for denying  
of theyr Countrie.

*Make as if yee would fight.*

*Rice.* Frier thou wottest not what thou sayest, this is the  
prince, and we are all his traine, disposed to be pleasant

410-411 Qq lineate: . . . friends, / . . . ease.

416 *Yea,*] Q2; Ye Q1

419 *Sir*] Q2; sir Q1

422 *friar,*] Q2; friar Q1

424 *sir,*] sir Qq

429-447 Qq lineate: . . . thou? / . . . Welshmen, / . . . wenche, / . . .  
more, / . . . Countrie. / . . . sayest, / . . . traine: / . . . little, / . . . jest.  
/ . . . sir, / . . . wench, / . . . heere. / . . . *gentes*. / . . . Britaine? /  
. . . hand, / . . . times, / . . . cudgeld / . . . jacket, / . . . warning. /  
. . . cattel, / . . . countrie. / . . . Lorde, / . . . learning / . . . it.

434 *traine,*] Q2; traine: Q1

with thee a little, but I perceive Friar, thy nose will bide no jest.

*Friar.* As much as you will with me sir, but not at any hand with my wench, I and Richard my man heere are here, *Contra omnes gentes*. But is this Lluellen the great Camber Britaine?

440

*Lluel.* It is he Friar, give me thy hand, and gramercies twentie times, I promise thee thou hast cudgeld two as good lessons into my jacket, as ever Churchman did at so short warning. The one is, not to be too busie with another mans cattel, the other, not in hast to denie my countrie.

*Friar.* Tis pittie my Lorde, but you should have more of this learning, you profit so well by it.

*Lluel.* Tis pittie Friar but thou shouldst be Lluellens Chaplaine, thou edifiest so well, and so shalt thou be, of mine honor, heere I entertaine thee, thy boye, and thy trull, to follow my fortune, in *Secula seculorum*.

450

*Friar.* And Richard my man sir and you love me, he that stands by me, and shrunke not at all weathers, and then you have me in my colours.

*Lluel.* Friar agreed: Rice welcome the Ruffines. [C1]

*Enter the Harper [and Jack], and sing to the tune of Who list to lead a Souldiers life.*

Goe too, goe too, you Britaines all,  
And plaie the men both great and small,  
A wonderous matter hath befall,  
That makes the Prophets crie and call,  
460 *Tum date dite dote dum,*  
That you must marche both all and some,  
Against your foes with trumpe and Drum:  
I speake to you from God that you shall overcome.

460

438 *heere are here*] *heere.* / For here Qq

447 *learning,*] Q2; learning Q1

452-454 Qq lineate: . . . me, / . . . weathers, / . . . colours.

455 *Friar*] Friars Qq SD *and Jack*] Dyce + B; Qq omit

460 *Tum . . . dum*] *Tum da et di te de te dum* Qq

*With a turne both waies.*

*Lluel.* What now, who have we here? *Tum date dite dote dum.*

*Friar.* What have we, a fellow dropt out of the element?  
Whats hee for a man?

*Rice.* Knowest thou this Goscup?

*Friar.* What? not Morgain Pigot, our good welsh prophet,  
470 O tis a holie Harper.

*Mered.* A Prophet with a moraine, good my Lord, lets heare  
a few of his lines I pray you.

*Novice.* My lords, tis an od fellow I can tell you, as any is  
in all Wales: he can sing rime with reason, and rime without  
reason, and without reason or rime.

*Lluel.* The divell hee can, rime with reason, and rime with-  
out reason, and reason without rime:

Then good Morgan Pigot,

Pluck out thy spigot,

480 And draw us a fresh pot,  
From the kinder kinde of thy knowledge.

*Friar.* Knowledge my sonne, knowledge I warrant ye, how  
saist thou Morgaine, art thou not a very prophet?

*Harper.* Friar, friar, a Prophet verilie,

For great Lluellens love,

Sent from above,

[C1<sup>v</sup>]

To bring him victorie.

*Mered.* Come then gentle prophet, lets see how thou canst  
salute thy prince, say, shall we have good successe in our  
490 enterprize or no?

*Harper.* When the weathercock of Carmarthen steeple shall

464-465 Qq lineate: . . . here? / . . . *dum.*

466 *we,*] we Qq *element?*] Q2; element, Q1

471-477 Qq lineate: . . . moraine, / . . . you. / . . . you, / . . .  
Wales: / . . . reason, / . . . rime. / . . . can, / . . . reason, / . . . rime:

478-479 One line in Qq

482-483 Qq lineate: . . . ye, / . . . prophet?

486-487 One line in Qq

491-493 Qq lineate: . . . steeple / . . . belferie, / . . . pasture, / . . .  
silver:

ingender yong ones in the belferie, and a heard of Goates  
leave their pasture, to be cloathed in silver:

Then shall Brute be borne anew

And Wales recure their auncient hew,

Aske Friar David if this be not true.

*Friar.* This my Lord a meanes by you,

O he is a prophet, a prophet.

*Lluel.* Soft you now good Morgan Pigot, and take us with  
500 yee a little I pray, what meanes your wisdome by all this?

*Harper.* The Weathercock (my lord) was your father, who  
by foule weather of warre, was driven to take Sanctuarie in  
Saint Maries at Carnarvon, where he begat yong ones on  
your mother in the belfrey, viz. your worship, and your  
brother David.

*Lluel.* But what didst thou meane by the Goates?

*Harper.* The Goates that leave the pasture to be cloathed in  
silver, are the silver Goates your men wore on their sleeves.

*Friar.* O how I love thee Morgain Pigot our sweet prophet.

510 *Lluel.* Hence rogue with your prophesies, out of my sight.

*Mered.* Nay good my lord, lets have a few more of these  
meeters, he hath great store in his head.

*Novice.* Yea, and of the best in the market, and your Lord-  
ship would vouchsafe to heare them.

*Lluel.* Villaine away, ile heere no more of your prophesies.

*Harper.* When legs shall lose their length,

[And shankes yeelde up their strength:]

Returning wearie home,

From out the holy land:

520 A Welshman shall be king,

And governe merrie England.

494 *anew*] a new Qq

495 *recure*] record Qq

497 *a*] Q1; he Q2

499-500 Qq lineate: . . . Pigot / . . . pray, / . . . this?

500 *this?*] Q2; this. Q1

513-514 Qq lineate: . . . market, / . . . them.

517 Qq omit

518-519 One line in Qq

*Mered.* Did I not tell your Lordship hee would hit it [C<sub>2</sub>]  
home anon?

*Friar.* My Lord he comes to your time, thats flat.

*Novice.* I maister and you marke him, he hit the marke pat.

*Friar.* As how Jack?

*Novice.* Why thus:

When legs shall lose their length,  
And shankes yeelde up their strength:

530 Returning wearie home  
From out the holy land,  
A Welshman shall bee king,  
And governe merrie England.

Why my Lord, in this prophesie, is your advancement as  
plainlie seene, as a three halfpence through a dishe of butter  
in a sunnie daie.

*Friar.* I thinke so Jack, for hee that sees three halfpence,  
must tarrie till the butter be melted in the sunne, and so  
foorth applie boie.

540 *Novice.* *Non ego* maister, do you and you dare.

*Lluel.* And so boy thou meanest, hee that tarries this proph-  
esie may see Longshankes shorter by the head, and Lluellen  
weare the crowne in the field.

*Friar.* By ladie my Lord, you go neere the matter, but what  
saith Morgaine Pigote more?

*Harper.* In the yeare of our lorde God 1272, shall spring  
from the loines of Brute, one whose wives name being the  
perfect end of his owne, shal consummate the peace betwixt  
England and Wales, and bee advaunced to ride through  
550 Cheapside with a crowne on his head, and thats ment by  
your lordship, for your wives name being Ellen, and your  
owne Lluellen, beareth the perfect end of your owne name:

524 *time*,] Q<sub>2</sub>; time Q<sub>1</sub>

527-528 One line in Qq

530-531 One line in Qq

538 *sunne*] Q<sub>2</sub>; suune Q<sub>1</sub>

541-542 *prophesie*] prophesie, Qq

544-545 Qq lineate: . . . matter, / . . . more?

544 *Lord*,] Q<sub>2</sub>; Lord Q<sub>1</sub>

548 *owne*] C Dyce + B; ground Qq

so must it needes bee, that for a time Ellen flee from Lluellen, yee beeing betrothed in heart each to others, must needes bee aduanced to bee highest of your kinne.

*Lluel.* Jacke, I make him thy prisoner, looke what waie my fortune inclines, that way goes hee.

*Mered.* Sirra, see you runne swiftest. [C2<sup>v</sup>]

*Friar.* Farewell, be farre from the Spigote.

*Exit.*

560 *Novice.* Now sir, if our countrie Ale were as good as your Metheglen, I would teach you to play the knave, or you should teache me to play the Harper.

*Harper.* Ambo, boye, you are too light witted, as I am light minded.

*Novice.* It seemed to me thou art fittest, and passing well.

*Exeunt ambo. Enter Guenther to Lluellen with letters.*

*Lluel.* What tidings bringeth Guenther with his haste?

Say man, what bodes thy message good or bad?

*Guenther.* Bad my lord, and all in vaine I wot,  
Thou darest thine eyes upon the wallowing maine,  
570 As erst did Aegeus to behold his sonne,  
To welcome and receive thy welcome love,  
And sable sailes he saw, and so maist thou,  
For whose mishap the Brackish seas lament,  
Edward, ô Edward.

*Lluel.* And what of him?

*Guenther.* Landed he is at Dover with his men,  
From Palestine safe, by his English Lords,  
Received in triumphes like an earthly God,  
He lives to weare his fathers Diadem,  
580 And sway the sworde of brittish Albion.

556-557 Q1 lineates: . . . prisoner, / . . . inclines, / . . . hee.

560 *Ale*] Ale, Qq

561 *knave*,] Q2; knave. Q1

563-564 Qq lineate: . . . witted, / . . . minded.

567 *bad?*] Q2; bad. Q1

570 *Aegeus*] Aegen Qq

577 *safe*,] safe Qq

But Elinor, thy Elinor.

*Lluel.* And what of her?

Hath amorous Neptune gazd upon my love,  
And stopt her passage with his forked mace:  
Or that I rather feare, O deadly feare,  
Enamoured Nereus dooth he withhold  
My Elinor?

*Guenther.* Nor Neptune, Nereus nor other God,  
Withholdeth from my gracious lord his love,  
590 But cruell Edward that injurious king,  
Withholds thy liefest lovely Elinor,  
Tane in a Pinnasse on the narrow seas,  
By foure tall ships of Bristowe, and with her,  
Lord Emerick her unhappie noble brother,  
As from Montargis hetherward they saild:  
This say in breefe, these letters tell at large.

[C<sub>3</sub>]

*Lluellen reads his brother Davids letters.*

*Lluel.* Is Longshankes then, so lustie now become,  
Is my faire love my beautious Elinor tane?  
Villaines damnde villaines not to guard her safe,  
600 Or fence her sacred person from her foes,  
Sunne couldst thou shine and see my love beset,  
And didst not clothe thy cloudes in fierie coates,  
Ore all the heavens with winged sulphure flames,  
As when thy beames like mounted combatants,  
Battaild with Python in the fallowed laies,  
But if kinde Cambria deigne me good aspect,  
To make me cheefest brute of westernne Wales,  
Ile short that gainlegd Longshankes by the top,  
And make his flesh my murthering fawchions foode:

586-587 One line in Qq

592 *Tane*] Taking Qq

596 *say in*] Q<sub>1</sub>; say I in Q<sub>2</sub>

598 *beautious*] Q<sub>2</sub>; beautions Q<sub>1</sub>

599 *Villaines*] C Dyce + B; Villaine Qq

604 *thy*] C Dyce 3 B; the Qq

605 *Python*] C Dyce + B; Pyetion Qq

608 *Longshankes*] Longshanke Qq

610 To armes true Britaines sprong of Trojans seede,  
 And with your swordes write in the booke of Time,  
 Your Brittish names in Characters of bloud.  
 Owen ap Rice, while we staie for further force,  
 Prepare, awaie in poste, and take with thee,  
 A hundred chosen of thy countrimen,  
 And scowre the marches with your Welshmens hookes,  
 That Englishmen may thinke the divell is come.  
 Rice shall remaine with me, make thou thy boade,  
 In resolution to revenge these wronges,  
 620 With bloud of thousands guiltlesse of this rage,  
 Flie thou on them amaine: Edward, my love  
 Be thy lives bane. Follow me countrimen,  
 Words make no waie, my Elinor is surprizd,  
 Robd am I of the comfort of my life,  
 And know I this and am not veng'd on him?

*Exit Lluellen, and the other lords. Manet, the Friar and Novice [and Guenthian].*

*Friar.* Come boie we must buckle I see. The prince [C<sub>3</sub><sup>v</sup>]  
 is of my profession right: rather than he wil lose his wenche,  
 he will fight *Ab ovo usque ad mala*.

630 *Novice.* O maister doubt you not but your Novice will  
 proove a whot shot with a bottle of Metheglin.

*Exeunt, ere the wenche fall into a Welsh song, and the Friar aunswer, and the Novice betweene.*

### [SCENE 3]

*Enter the nine lordes of Scotland, with their nine pages,  
 Gloster, Sussex, king Edward in his sute of Glasse,  
 Queene Elinor, [Jone,] Queene Mother, the King and  
 Queene under a Canopie.*

610 *seede,*] seede. Qq

614 *Prepare,*] Prepare Qq

625 *SD and Guenthian]* Qq omit

626-628 Qq lineate: . . . see. / . . . right: / . . . wenche, / . . . mala.

630 *shot]* shot, Qq SD *Jone,*] Qq omit

*Long.* Nobles of Scotland, we thanke you all,  
 For this daies gentle princelie service done,  
 To Edward Englands king and Scotlands lord:  
 Our Coronations due sollemnitie,  
 Is ended with applause of all estates.  
 Now then let us repose and rest us heere,  
 But speciallie we thanke you gentle lords,  
 That you so well have governed your greefes,  
 As being growne unto a generall jarre,  
 640 You choose king Edward by your Messengers,  
 To calme, to qualifie, and to compounde  
 Th'ambitious strife of Scotlands climbing peeres.  
 I have no doubt faire lords but you well wot,  
 How factions waste the ritchest Commonwealth,  
 And discord spoiles the seates of mightie kings.  
 The Barons warre, a tragicke wicked warre,  
 Nobles how hath it shaken Englands strength?  
 Industriouslie it seems to me you have,  
 Loiallie ventured to prevent this shock,  
 650 For which sith you have chosen me your judge,  
 My lords wil you stand to what I shall award?

*Balioll.* Victorious Edward, to whom the Scottish kings  
 Owe homage as their lorde and soveraigne,  
 Amongst us nine, is but one lawfull king:  
 But might we all be judges in the case, [C4]  
 Then should in Scotland be nine kings at once,  
 And this contention never set or limited,  
 To staie these jarres we jointlie make appeale,  
 To thy imperiall throne, who knowes our claimes,  
 660 We stand not on our titles before your grace,  
 But do submit ourselves to your awarde,  
 And whome your Majestie shall name to be our king,  
 To him wee le yeeld obedience as a king,

636 *repose*] Dyce 3 B; appose Qq

641 *compounde*] compounde: Qq

642 *Th'ambitious*] Dyce 3 B; Thanke Britains Qq

646 *warre*] warres Qq

655 *the*] Q1; this Q2

Thus willinglie, and of their owne accorde,  
Doth Scotland make great Englands king their judge.

*Long.* Then nobles since you all agree in one,  
That for a crowne so disagree in all,  
Since what I do shall rest irrevocable,  
Holde up your hands in sight, with generall voice,  
That are content to stand to our award.

*They all holde up their handes, and say he shall*

Deliver me the golden Diadem.  
Loe here I holde the goale for which ye strived,  
And heere behold my worthie men at armes,  
For chivalrie and worthie wisdomes praise,  
Worthie each one to weare a Diadem,  
Expect my doome, as erst at Ida hilles,  
The Goddesses devine waited the award,  
Of Dardans sonne: Balioll stand farthest forth,  
Baliol behold I give thee the Scottish crowne,  
Weare it with heart and with thankfulnes:  
Sound Trumpets, and say all after me,  
God save king Baliol the Scottish king.

*The Trumpets sounds, all crie aloud, God save King  
Baliol the Scottish king.*

Thus lords though you require no reason why,  
According to the conscience in the cause,  
I make John Balioll your anointed king:  
Honor and love him as behooves him best, [C4<sup>v</sup>]  
That is in peace of Scotlands crowne possest.

*Balioll.* Thankes roiall England for thy honor doone,  
This justice that hath calmd our civell strife,  
Shall now be ceast with honourable love,  
So mooved of remorse and pittie,  
We will erect a colledge of my name,  
In Oxford will I build for memorie,

668 Three lines which follow in Qq are printed as ll. 701–703.

678 *Dardans*] Dyce 3 B; Danaes Qq

689 *strife*,] Q2; strife: Q1

Of Baliols bountie and his gratitude:  
 And let me happie daies no longer see,  
 Then heere to England loyall I shall bee.

*Elinor.* Now brave John Balioll Lord of Gallaway,  
 And king of Scots shine with thy goulden head,  
 Shake thy speres in honour of his name,  
 700 Under whose roialtie thou wearst the same.  
 And lovelie England to thy lovely Queene,  
 Lovelie Queene Elinor, unto her turne thy eye,  
 Whose honor cannot but love thee wel,

*Queene Elinors speeche.*

The welken spangled through with goulden spots,  
 Reflects no finer in a frostie night,  
 Then lovely Longshankes in his Elinors eye:  
 So Ned thy Nell in every part of thee,  
 Thy person's garded with a troope of Queenes,  
 And every Queene as brave as Elinor,  
 710 Gives glorie to these glorious christall quarries,  
 Where every orbe an object entertaines,  
 Of riche device and princelie majestie.  
 Thus like Narcissus diving in the deepe,  
 I die in honour and in Englands armes:  
 And if I drowne, it is in my delight,  
 Whose companie is cheefest life in death,  
 From foorth whose currall lips I suck the sweete,  
 Wherewith are daintie Cupids caudles made,  
 Then live or die brave Ned, or sinke or swim,  
 720 An earthlie blisse it is to looke on him.  
 On thee sweete Ned, it shall become thy Nell,  
 Bounteous to be unto the beauteous,  
 Ore prie the palmes sweete fountaines of my blisse, [D1]

701-703 Printed in Qq after l. 668.

710 *Gives*] Give Qq

711 *orbe*] robe Qq

715 *delight,*] delight. Qq

718 *caudles*] C Dyce + B; candles Qq

720 *earthlie*] Q2; earrhlie Q1

And I will stand on tiptoe for a kisse.

*Long.* He had no thought of any gentle heart,  
That would not seaze desire for such desart,  
If any heavenly joy in women be,  
Sweet of all sweetes, sweete Nell it is in thee.  
Now lords along by this the Earle of Marche,  
730 Lord Mortimor ore Cambriaes mountaine tops,  
Hath rang'd his men, and feeles Lluellens minde,  
To which confines that well in wasting be,  
Our sollemne service of coronation past,  
We will amaine to backe our friends at neede,  
And into Wales our men at armes shall march,  
And we with them in person foote by foote.  
Brother of Scotland, you shall to your home,  
And live in honour there faire Englands friend,  
And thou sweet Nell Queene of king Edwards heart,  
740 Shall now come lesser at thy daintie love,  
And at coronation meete thy loving peeres,  
When stormes are past, and we have coolde the rage  
Of these rebellious Welshmen that contend,  
Gainst Englands majestie, and Edwards crowne.  
Sound Trumpets, Harolds lead the traine along,  
This be king Edwards feast and hollie daie.

*Exeunt.* [*Manent Queen, Jone, and Gloucester.*] *Enter the Maris of London from Church, and Musicke before her.*

*Q. Eli.* Gloucester, who may this be, a bride or what?

I praie yee Jone goe see,  
And know the reason of the harmonie.

750 *Jone.* Good woman let it not offend you any whit,  
For to deliver unto me the cause,  
That in this unusuall kinde of sort,  
You passe the streetes with musicke so.

*Maris.* Mistres or Madam what ere you be,  
Wot you I am the Maior of Londons wife,

[D1<sup>v</sup>]

739 *heart,]* heart. Qq

746 SD *Manent . . . Gloucester.*] Qq omit

Who for I have beene delivered of a sonne,  
 Having not these doozen yeares had any before,  
 Now in my husbands yeare of Mairoltie,  
 Bringing him a goodly boye,  
 760 I passe unto my house a maiden bride,  
 Which private pleasure touching godlinesse,  
 Shall here no waye I hope offend the good.  
*Queene.* You hope so gentle mistres, do you indeed?  
 But doe not make it parcell of your creede.  
*Maris.* Alas I am undone, it is the Queene,  
 The proudest Queene that ever England knew.

*Exeunt Maris, et omnes.*

*Queene.* Come Gloster, lets to the court and revel there.

*Exeunt Gloucester[, Jone,] and the Queene.*

[SCENE 4]

*Enter Meredith, David, and Lluellen.*

*David.* Soft, is it not Meredith I behold?

*Lluel.* All good, all friends: Meredith see the man,  
 770 Must make us great, and raise Lluellens head:  
 Fight thou Lluellen for thy friend and thee.

*Mered.* Fight mauger fortune strong our battailes strong,  
 And beare thy foes before thy pointed launce.

*David.* Not too much prowesse good my lord at once,  
 Some talke of pollicie another while.

*Mered.* How comes my lims hurt at this assault?

*Lluel.* Hurt for our good, Meredith make account,  
 Sir Davids wit is full of good devise,  
 And kindlie will performe what he pretends.

780 *David.* Enough of this my Lord at once,  
 What will you that I holde the king in hand,  
 Or what shall I especiallie advize,

767 SD , *Jone,*] Qq omit

768 *Soft,*] Q2; Soft Q1

772 *fortune*] fortune, Qq

Sitting in counsell with the English lordes,  
That so my counsell may availe my friends?

*Lluel.* David if thou wilt best for me devise,  
Advise my love be rendered to my hand:  
Tell them the Chaines that Mulciber erst made,  
To tie Prometheus lims to Caucasus,  
Nor furies phanges shal hold me long from her,  
790 But I will have her from the usurpers tent,  
My beautious Elinor: if ought in this,  
If in this case thy wit may boote thy friends,  
Expres it then in this, in nothing els.

[D<sub>2</sub>]

*David.* I, theres a Carde that puts us to our trumpe,  
For might I see the starre of Leisters loines,  
It were enough to darken and obscure,  
This Edwards glorie, fortune, and his pride:  
First hereof can I put you out of doubt,  
Lord Mortimor of the king hath her in charge,  
800 And honourable intreates your Elinor,  
Some thinkes he praies Lluellen were in heaven,  
And thereby hopes to couche his love on earth.

*Lluel.* No, where Lluellen mounts, there Ellen flies,  
Inspeakeable are my thoughts for her,  
Shee is not from me in death to be divorst.  
Go to, it shall be so, so shall it be,  
Edward is full resolved of thy faith,  
So are the English lords and Barons all:  
Then what may let thee to intrude on them,  
810 Some new found stratagem to feele their wit.

*David.* It is enough: Meredeth take my weapons,  
I am your prisoner, say so at the least,  
Go hence, and when you parle on the walles,  
Make shew of monstrous tirannie you intend,

788 *tie*] H Q<sub>2</sub>; trie FLO794 *I*,] Q<sub>2</sub>; I Q<sub>1</sub>802 *couche*] Dyce 3 B; coache Qq803 *flies*,] LO; flies FH; flie; Q<sub>2</sub>

806-810 Qq give these lines to David.

810 *wit*.] wit, Qq

To execute on me, as on the man,  
 That shamefullie rebels gainst kin and kinde:  
 And less thou have thy love, and make thy peace,  
 With such conditions as shall best concerne,  
 David must die say thou a shamefull death,  
 820 Edward perhaps with ruthe and pittie moov'd,  
 Will in exchange yeelde Elinor to thee.  
 And thou by me shalt gaine thy hearts desire.  
*Lluel.* Sweetely advized David, thou blessest me,  
 My brother David lengthener of my life, [D2<sup>v</sup>]  
 Friends gratulate to me my joyfull hopes.

*Exeunt.*

[SCENE 5]

*Enter Longshankes, Sussex, and others.*

*Long.* Why Barons, suffer yee our foes to breathe?  
 Assault, assault, and charge them all amaine,  
 They feare, they flie, they faint, they fight in vaine,  
 But where is gentle David in his Den?  
 830 Loth were I, ought but good should him betide.

*Sound an Alarum.*

*On the walles enter [to] Longshankes, [and] Sussex,  
 Mortimor, [Lluellen,] David the Friar, Meredith holding  
 David by the collar, with a Dagger in his hande.*

*Long.* Where is the proude disturber of our state?  
 Traitor to Wailes, and to his Soveraigne.

*Lluel.* Usurper here I am, what doost thou crave?

*Long.* Welshman alleagance which thou owest thy king.

817 *less*] C Dyce + B; least Qq

826 *our*] Q1; your Q2

830 *I, ought*] Q2; I,ought Q1

SD *to*] Qq omit      *and*] Qq omit      *Lluellen,*] Qq omit

833 *crave?*] Q2; crave Q1

834 *thy*] Q1; the Q2

*Lluel.* Traitor, no king, that seekes thy countries sack,  
The famous runnagate of Christendome.

*Long.* Ambitious rebell, knowest thou what I am,  
How great, how famous, and how fortunate,  
And darst thou carie armes against me here,  
840 Even when thou shouldst do reverence at my feete?  
Yea feard and honourd in the farthest parts,  
Hath Edward beene, thy noble Henries sonne,  
Traitor, this sworde unsheathe hath shined oft,  
With reeking in the bloud of Sarazens,  
When like to Perseus on his winged steede,  
Brandishing bright the blade of Adamant,  
That aged Saturne gave faire Maias sonne,  
Conflicting tho with Gorgon in the vale,  
Setting before the gates of Nazareth,  
850 My horses hoofes I staine in Pagans gore, [D<sub>3</sub>]  
Sending whole centuries of heathen soules,  
To Plutoes house: this sworde, this thirstie sworde,  
Aimes at thy head, and shall I hope ere long,  
Gage and devide thy bowels and thy bulke,  
Disloiall villaine thou, and what is more.

*Lluel.* Why Longshankes, thinkst thou I will bee scarde with  
wordes?

No, didst thou speake in thunder like to Jove,  
Or shouldst as Briareus shake at once,  
A hundred bloudie swordes, with bloudie hands,  
860 I tell thee Longshankes here he faceth thee,  
Whome nought can daunt, no not the stroke of death:  
Resolv'd yee seem: but see the chance of warre.  
Knowst thou a traitor and thou seest his head,  
Then Longshankes looke this villaine in the face:  
This Rebell he hath wrought his countries wrack,

846 *blade*] Dyce + B; bloud Q<sub>1</sub>; blood Q<sub>2</sub>

851 *centuries*] Dyce 3 B; countries Qq

852 *thirstie*] Q<sub>2</sub>; thirssie Q<sub>1</sub>

853 *long,*] Q<sub>2</sub>; long. Q<sub>1</sub>

862 *seem*] see Qq

Base rascall, hard and hated in his kinde,  
Object of wrath, and subject of revenge.

*Long.* Lluellen, calst thou this the chance of warre?

Bad for us all pardie, but worse for him,  
870 Courage sir David, kings thou knowst must die,  
And noble mindes all dastard feare defies.

*David.* Renowmed Edward, star of Englands Globe,  
My liefest lord and sweetest Soveraigne,  
Glorious and happie is this chance to me,  
To reape this fame and honour in my death,  
That I was hewed with foule defiled hands,  
For my beloved king and countries good,  
And died in grace and favour with my prince:  
Seaze on me bloudie butchers with your pawes,  
880 It is but temporall that you can inflict.

*Long.* Bravelie resolv'd brave souldier by my life.

*Friar.* Harke you sir, I am afeard you will not be so resolved,  
by that time you knowe so much as I can shoue you, here be  
hote Dogges I can tell you, meanes to have the baiting of  
you.

*Mort.* Lluellen in the midst of all thy braves, [D<sub>3</sub><sup>v</sup>]  
How wilt thou use thy brother, thou hast tane,  
Wilt thou let his maister ransome him?

*Lluel.* No nor his mistres gallant Mortimor,  
890 With all the golde and silver of the land.

*Mered.* Raunsome this Judas to his fathers line,  
Raunsome this traitor to his brothers life,  
No take that earnest pennie of thy death,  
This touch my lord comes nothing neere the marke.

*Meredeth stabs him into the armes and shoulders.*

*Long.* O damned villaine holde thy hands,  
Aske and have.

*Lluel.* We will nor ask nor have, seest thou these tooles?

*He shoues him hote Pinsers.*

866 *hard*] had Qq; bad C Dyce + B

872 *Edward . . . Englands*] Dyce + B; England . . . Edwards Qq

These be the Dogges shall baite him to the death,  
 And shall by peecemeales teare his cursed flesh,  
 And in thy sight here shall he hang and pine.

900

*Long.* O villains, traitors, how will I be vengd?

*Lluel.* What threats thou Edward, desperate mindes contemne,

That furie menaceth, see thy words effects.

*He cuts his nose.*

*David.* O gracious heavens, dissolve me into claie,  
 This tirannie is more then flesh can beare.

*Long.* Beare it brave minde, sith nothing but thy bloud,  
 May satisfie in this extreame estate.

*Sussex.* My lord it is in vaine to threaten them,  
 They are resolv'd yee see upon his death.

910

*Long.* Sussex, his death, they all shall buie it deare,  
 Offer them any favour for his life,  
 Pardon, or peace, or ought what is beside:  
 So love me God, as I regarde my friends.  
 Lluelen let me have thy brothers life,  
 Even at what rate and ransome thou wilt name.

*Lluel.* Edward, king Edward, as thou list be termd,  
 Thou knowst thou hast my beautious Elinor,  
 Produce her forth, to plead for Davids life,  
 She may obtaine more then an hoaste of men. [D4]

920

*Long.* Wilt thou exchange thy prisoner for thy love?

*Lluel.* Talke no more to me, let me see her face.

*Mort.* Why, will your majestie be all so base,  
 To stoope to his demaunds in everie thing?

*Long.* Fetch her at once, good Mortimor be gone.

*Mort.* I go, but how unwilling heavens doth know.

*Mered.* Apace Mortimor if thou love thy friend.

*Mort.* I go for dearer then I leave behinde.

*Mortimor goes for Elinor, and conducts her in.*

*Long.* See Sussex how he bleedeth in my eye,  
 That beareth fortunes shocke triumphantlie.

902 Qq lineate: . . . Edward / . . . contemne.

930 *Friar.* Saw haw, maister, I have found, I have found.

*Lluel.* What hast thou found Friar, ha?

*Mered.* Newes my lord, a Star from out the Sea,  
The same is risen, and made a sommers day.

*Then Lluellen spieth Elinor and Mortimor, and saieth thus.*

[*Lluel.*] What Nell, sweete Nell, doe I behold thy face?

Fall heavens, fleete stars, shine Phoebus lampe no more,

This is the Planet lends this world her light,

Starre of my fortune, this that shineth bright,

Queene of my heart, loadstarre of my delight,

Faire mould of beautie, miracle of fame,

940 O let me die with Elinor in mine armes:

What honour shall I lend thy loialtie,

Or praise unto thy sacred dietie.

*Mered.* Marrie this my lord, if I may give you counsel,  
sacrifice this Tike in her sight, her friend, which beeing  
done, one of your souldiers may dip his foule shirt in his  
bloud, so shall you bee waited with as many crosses as king  
Edward.

*Long.* Good cheere sir David, we shall up anon.

*Mort.* Die Mortimor, thy life is almost gone.

950 *Elinor.* Sweet prince of Wales, were I within thine armes,

Then should I in peace possesse my love,

And heavens open faire their christall gates,

That I may see the pallace of my intent.

[D4<sup>v</sup>]

*Long.* Lluellen set thy brother free,

Let me have him, thou shalt have Elinor.

*Lluel.* Sooth Edward I do prize my Elinor,

Deerer then life, but there belongeth more

To these affaires, than my content in love:

And to be short, if thou wilt have thy man,

960 Of whome I sweare thou thinkest over well,

The safetie of Lluellen and his men,

Must be regarded highlie in this matche,

934 *Lluel.*] Qq omit

958 *my*] Q1; may Q2

Say therefore and be short, wilt thou give peace  
And pardon to Lluellen and his men?

*Long.* I will herein have time to be advizd.

*Lluel.* King Edward no, we will admit no pause,  
For goes this wretch, this traitor to the pot,  
And if Lluellen be pursued so neere,  
May chance to shoue thee such a tumbling cast,  
970 As erst our father, when he thought to scape,  
And broke his neck from Julius Caesars towre.

*Sussex.* My lord these rebels all are desperate.

*Mort.* And Mortimor of all most miserable.

*Long.* How say you Welshmen, will you leave your armes,  
And be true liegemen unto Edwards crowne?

*Soldier.* If Edward pardon surely what is past,  
Upon conditions we are all content.

*Long.* Belike you will condition with us then.

*Soldier.* Speciall conditions for our safetie first,  
980 And for our countrie Cambrias common good,  
T'avoide th'efusion of our guiltie bloud.

*Long.* Go to, say on.

*Soldier.* First for our followers, and our selves and all,  
We aske a pardon in the Princes word,  
Then for this Lords possession in his love:  
But for our Countrie cheefe these boones we beg,  
And Englands promise princely to thy Wailes,  
That none be Cambrias prince to governe us,  
But he that is a Welshman borne in Wales. [E1]

990 Graunt this and sweare it on thy knightly sword,  
And have thy man, and us, and all in peace.

*Lluel.* Whie Cambria Britaines are you so incensed,  
Will you deliver me to Edwards hands?

*Soldier.* No lord Lluellen we will backe for thee,  
Thy life, thy love, and golden libertie.

964 *men?*] Q2; men. Q1

971 *towre*] C Dyce + B; towne Qq

976 *Soldier.*] *All the Sold.* Qq

980 *And*] Q2; Aud Q1

981 *th'efusion*] the fusion Qq

*Mort.* A truce with honourable conditions tane,  
Wales happines, Englands glorie, and my bane.

*Long.* Commaund retreat be sounded in our campe,  
Souldiers I graunt at full what you request,

1000 David good cheere, Lluellen open the gates.

*Lluel.* The gates are opened, enter thee and thine.

*David.* The sweetest sunne that ere I saw to shine.

*Long.* Madam, a brabble well begun for thee,  
Be thou my guest, and sir Lluellens love.

*Exeunt.*

*Mortimor solus.*

[*Mort.*] Mortimor, a brable ill begunne for thee,

A truce with capitall conditions tane:

A prisoner sav'd and raunsomd with thy life,

Edward my king, my Lord and lover deare,

Full little doost thou wot, how this retreat,

1010 As with a sword, hath slaine poore Mortimor.

Farewell the flower, the gem of beauties blaze,

Sweete Ellen, miracle of natures hand,

Hell in thy name, but heaven is in thy lookes,

Sweete Venus let me saint or divel be,

In that sweet heaven or hell that is in thee.

*Exit.*

# [SCENE 6]

*Enter Jack and the Harper getting a standing against  
the Queene comes in.*

*The trumpets sound, Queene Elinor in her litter borne  
by foure Negro Mores, Jone of Acon with her, attended  
on by the Earle of Glocester, and her foure footemen,*

1005 *Mort.*] Qq omit

1013 *Hell*] Dyce + B; Fuellen Q1; Lluellen Q2

1015 SD *litter*,] Q2; *litter* Q1

*one having set a ladder to the side of the litter, she descendeth, and her daughter followeth.*

*Q. Eli.* Give me my pantables.

[E1<sup>v</sup>]

Fie this hot wether how it makes me sweate,  
 Hey ho my heart, ah I am passing faint.  
 Give me my fanne that I may coole my face,  
 1020 Hold, take my maske but see you romple not,  
 This wind and dust see how it smolders me,  
 Some drinke good Gloster or I die for drinke,  
 Ah Ned thou hast forgot thy Nell I see,  
 That shee is thus inforst to follow thee.

*Gloc.* This aires distemperature and please your majesty  
 Noisome through mountaine vapors and thick mist,  
 Unpleasant needes must be to you and your company,  
 That never was wont to take the aire,  
 Til Flora have perfumde the earth with sweetes,  
 1030 With lillies, roses, mints and Eglantine.

*Q. Eli.* I tel thee the ground is al too base,  
 For Elinor to honor with her steps:  
 Whose footpace when shee progreest in the streete,  
 Of Aecon and the faire Jerusalem,  
 Was nought but costly Arras points,  
 Faire Iland tapestrie and Azured silke,  
 My milke white steed treading on cloth of ray,  
 And trampling proudly underneath the feete,  
 Choise of our English wollen drapery.  
 1040 This climat orelowring with blacke congealed clouds,  
 That takes their swelling from the marrish soile,  
 Fraught with infectious fogges and mistie dampes,  
 Is farre unworthy to be once embalmd,

1015 SD *descendeth*] Dyce 2 B; *discended* Qq

1016 *pantables*] Q1; Pantaphels Q2

1020 *romple not*] Q1; romple it not Q2

1026 *mountaine . . . and*] C Dyce 3; mountains . . . send Qq; mountain's [mountains'] . . . and Dyce 2 B

1031 *too*] Q2; to Q1

1035 *points,*] points: Qq

1042 *fogges*] Q2; frogges Q1

1043 *embalmd,*] Q2; embalmd: Q1

With redolence of this refreshing breath:  
 That sweetens where it lights as doe the flames,  
 And holy fires of Vestaes sacrifice.

*Jone.* Whose pleasant fields new planted with the spring,  
 Make Thamesis to mount above the bankes,  
 And like a wanton wallowing up and downe,  
 1050 On Floras beds and Napees silver downe.

*Gloc.* And wales for me Madame while you are here,  
 No Climate good unlesse your grace be nere,  
 Would wales had ought could please you halfe so [E2]  
 well,

Or any precious thing in Glosters gift,  
 Whereof your ladiship would challenge me.

*Jone.* Well saide my lord, tis as my mother saies,  
 You men have learnd to woo a thousande waies.

*Gloc.* O madame had I learned against my neede,  
 Of all those waies to woo one way to speede,  
 1060 My cunning then had beene my fortunes guide.

*Q. Eli.* Faith Jone I thinke thou must be Glosters bride,  
 Good Earle how neare he steps unto her side,  
 So soone this eie these younglings had espide,  
 Ile tel thee girle when I was faire and young,  
 I found such honny in sweete Edwards tongue,  
 As I could never spend one idle walke,  
 But Ned and I would peece it out with talke.  
 So you my Lord when you have got your Jone,  
 No matter let Queene mother be alone.

1070 Old Nell is mother now and grandmother may,  
 The greenest grasse doth droupe and turn to hay,  
 Woo on kinde Clarke, good Gloster love thy Jone,  
 Her heart is thine, her eies is not her owne.

*Gloc.* This comfort Madam that your grace doth give  
 Binds me in double duety whilst I live,

1045 *sweetens*] Q1; sweetnesse Q2

1049 *downe,*] Q2; downe: Q1

1056 *lord,*] Q2; lord Q1

1057 *woo*] Q2; woe Q1

1064 *young,*] Q2; young: Q1

1072 *on*] Q2; one Q1

Would God King Edward see and say no lesse.

*Q. Eli.* Gloster I warrant thee uppon my life,  
My King vouchsafs his daughter for thy wife,  
Sweet Ned hath not forgot since he did woo,

1080 The gal of love and al that longs thereto.

*Gloc.* Why was your grace so coie to one so kinde?

*Q. Eli.* Kinde Gloster, so me thinks indeede,  
It seemes he loves his wife no more then needs,  
That sends for us in al the speedy hast,  
Knowing his Queene to be so great with childe,  
And makes me leave my princely pleasant seates,  
To come into his ruder part of wales.

*Gloc.* His highnes hath some secrete reason why,  
He wisheth you to move from Englands pleasant courts,  
1090 The Welshmen have of long time suters beene, [E2<sup>v</sup>]  
That when the warre of rebels sorts an end,  
None might be prince and ruler over them,  
But such a one as was their countriman,  
Which sute I thinke his grace hath graunted them.

*Q. Eli.* So then it is king Edwards pollicie,  
To have his sonne, forsooth sonne if it be,  
A Welshman, well welshman it liketh me,  
And heere he comes.

*Enter Edward Longshankes and his lords, to the Queene  
and her footmen.*

*Long.* Nell, welcome into Wales,  
How fares my Elinor?

*Q. Eli.* Neare worse,

1100 Beshrow their harts, tis long on.

*Long.* Harts sweet Nell,  
Shrow no harts, where such sweete saints doe dwell.

1082 *Gloster,*] Q2; Gloster Q1 *indeede*] in deede Qq

1086 *makes*] Dyce + B; make Qq *seates,*] Q2; seates. Q1

1089 *courts,*] Q2; courts Q1

1091 *end,*] Q2; end: Q1

1099-1100 *Neare . . . on*] One line in Qq

1100 *harts,*] C Dyce + B; harts Qq

1100-01 Qq lineate: . . . harts, / . . . dwell.

*He holds her hand fast.*

*Q. Eli.* Nay then I see I have my dreame, I pray let go,  
You will not, will you whether I will or no?  
You are disposed to moove me.

*Long.* Say any thing but so:  
Once Nell thou gavest me this.

*Q. Eli.* I pray let go,  
Yee are disposed I thinke.

*Long.* I madame, verie well.

*Q. Eli.* Let go and be naught I say.

*Long.* What ailes my Nell?

*Q. Eli.* Aie me, what sodaine fits is this I proove,  
What grieve, what pinching paine, like youngmens love,  
1110 That makes me madding run thus too and froe?

*Long.* What, mallencollie Nell?

*Q. Eli.* My lord, pray let me go,  
Give me sweet water, why how whote it is.

*Gloc.* These be the fits, trouble mens wits.

*Long.* Jone aske thy beautious Mistres how she dooth.

*Jone.* How fares your majestie?

*Q. Eli.* Jone agreev'd at the hart [E<sub>3</sub>]

And angered worse, because I cannot right me,  
I thinke the King comes purposely to spite me,  
My fingers itche till I have had my will,  
Proud Edward call in thy Elinor be still,

1120 It will not be, nor rest I any where:

Till I have set it soundly on his eare.

*Jone.* Is that the matter, then let me alone.

*Q. Eli.* Fie how I fret with greefe.

*Long.* Come hither Jone,  
Knowest thou what ailes my Queene?

1105-06 *I . . . thinke*] One line in Qq

1106 *madame,*] Q<sub>2</sub>; madame Q<sub>1</sub>

1112 *is.*] *is?* Qq

1115-16 Qq lineate: . . . worse, / . . . in

1116 *cannot right me*] Dyce 3 B; came not right in Qq

1122 *matter,*] Q<sub>2</sub>; matter Q<sub>1</sub>

1123-24 *Come . . . Queene*] One line in Qq

*Jone.* Not I my lord,  
Shee longs I thinke to give your grace a boxe on th'eare.

*Long.* Nay wench if that be al, weelee eare it wel,  
What all amort, how doth my dainty Nell?  
Looke up sweete love, unkind, not kisse me once?  
That may not be.

1130 *Q. Eli.* My lord I thinke you doe it for the nonce.

*Long.* Sweet heart one kisse.

*Q. Eli.* For Gods sake let me go.

*Long.* Sweet heart a kisse.

*Q. Eli.* What, whether I will or no?

You will not leave? let be I say?

*Long.* I must be better chidde.

*Q. Eli.* No wil? take that then lusty lord, Sir leave when  
you are bidde.

*Long.* Why so this chare is charde.

*Gloster.* A good one by the roode.

*Q. Eli.* No force no harme.

*Long.* No harme that doth my Elinor any  
good.

Learne lords gainst you be married men to bow to womens  
yoke:

And sturdy though you be, you may not stur for every  
stroke:

Now my sweet Nell, how doth my Queene?

1140 *Q. Eli.* Shee vaunts that mighty England hath felt her fist:  
Taken a blow basely at Elinors hand. [E<sub>3</sub><sup>v</sup>]

[*Long.*] And vaunt shee may, good [Elinor] leave being  
curst and coy,

1124-25 *Not . . . th'eare*] One line in Qq

1125 *th'eare*] Q<sub>2</sub>; theare Q<sub>1</sub>

1126 *al,*] Q<sub>2</sub>; al Q<sub>1</sub>

1127 *amort,*] Q<sub>2</sub>; amort Q<sub>1</sub>

1132-33 *What . . . say*] One line in Qq

1135 *roode.*] roode, Qq

1138 *be,*] Q<sub>2</sub>; be Q<sub>1</sub>

1139 *Nell,*] Q<sub>2</sub>; Nell Q<sub>1</sub>

1141 *hand.*] hand, Qq

1142 *Long.*] C Dyce + B; Qq omit *may,*] Q<sub>2</sub>; may Q<sub>1</sub> *Eli-*  
*nor*] Qq omit

Lacke nothing Nell whilst thou hast brought thy lorde a lovely boie.

[*Q. Eli.*] *Ven acà*, I am sicke, good Katherina I pray thee be at hand.

*Kath. Spain.* This sicknes I hope wil bring King Edward a jollie boy.

*Long.* And Katherin who brings me that newes shal not goe emptie handed.

*Exite omnes.*

[SCENE 7]

*Enter Mortimor, Lluellen [Elinor] and Meredith.*

1150 *Mort.* Farewel Lluellen with thy loving Nell.

*Exit Mortimor.*

*Lluel.* Godamercy Mortimor and so farewell.

*Mered.* Farewel and be hangde false Sinons serpent brood.

*Lluel.* Good words Sir Rice, wronges have best remedy,  
So taken with time patience and pollicy.  
But where is the Friar, who can tel?

*Enter Friar.*

[*Friar.*] That can I maister very wel,  
And saie I faith what hath befel:  
Must we at once to heaven or hel?

*Elinor.* To heaven Frier, Frier no fie,  
1160 Such heavie soules mount not so hie.

*Frier lies downe.*

1144 *Q. Eli.*] Qq omit *Ven acà*,] Dyce + B; *Veniacion* Q1; *Veni-*  
*acian* Q2 *sicke*,] sicke Qq *Katherina*] Q1; Katherine Q2

1149 SD *Elinor*] Qq omit

1152 *be hangde*] behangde Qq *false Sinons serpent*] Dyce 3 B;  
half Sinons sapons Qq *brood.*] Q2; brood Q1

1153 *Rice*,] Q2; Rice Q1

1155 *Friar*,] Q2; Friar Q1

1156 *Friar.*] Q2; Q1 omits

[*Friar.*] Then Frier lie thee downe and die.

And if any aske the reason why,  
 Answered and say thou canst not tel,  
 Unles because thou must to hel.

*Elinor.* No Frier because thou didst rebel,  
 Gentle Sir Rice ring out thy knel.

*Lluel.* And Maddocke towle thy passing bel.  
 So there lies a straw,  
 And now to the law.

1170 Maisters and friends, naked came we into the worlde, naked  
 are wee turnd out of the good townes into the [E4]  
 wilderness, let mee saie Masse, me thinkes we are a hand-  
 some Common-wealth, a handful of goodfellowes, set asun-  
 ning to dog on our own discretion, what say you Sir? we  
 are enough to keepe a passage, will you be ruled by mee?  
 wee le get the next daie from Brecknocke the booke of  
 Robin Hood, the Frier he shal instruct us in his cause and  
 wee le even here fair and well, since the king hath put us  
 amongst the discarding cardes, and as it were turned us  
 1180 with deuces and traies out of the decke, everie man take  
 his standing on Mannocke deny and wander like irregulers  
 up and down the wilderness, ile be maister of misrule, ile  
 be Robin Hood thats once, cousin Rice thou shalt be little  
 John, and heres Frier David as fit as a die for Frier Tucke,  
 now my sweet Nel if you wil make up the messe with a  
 good heart for Maide marian and doe well with Lluellen  
 under the greene wood trees, with as good a wil as in the  
 good townes, why *plena est curia*.

1161 *Friar.*] Q2; Q1 omits

1168-69 Prose in Qq

1169 *law.*] law Qq

1170 *Maisters*] maisters Qq      *worlde,*] Q2; worlde Q1

1171 *turnd*] Q2; tnrnd Q1

1172 *saie*] Q1; say Q2; see Dyce 3 B

1173 *asunning*] a sunning Qq

1177 *his*] Q1; this Q2

1178 *well,*] Q2; well Q1

1183 *thats*] Q2; that Q1      *Rice*] Q2; Kice Q1

1184 *heres*] hers Q1; heers Q2

*Elinor.* My sweetest love and this my infracte fortune  
 1190 Could never vaunt her sovereignty,  
 And shouldest thou passe the foorde of Phlegeton,  
 Or with Leander swim the Hellispont,  
 In deserts Oenophrius ever dwell,  
 Or builde thy bowre on Aetnas fierie tops,  
 Thy Nel would follow thee and keepe with thee,  
 Thy Nel would feede with thee and sleepe with thee.

*Friar.* *O Cupido quantus quantus.*

*Mered.* Bravelie resolvde Madam and then what rests my  
 Lord Robin but we will live and die together like Chamber  
 1200 Britaines, Robin Hood, little John, Frier Tucke, and Maide  
 marrian.

*Lluel.* There rests nothing now cosin but that I sell my  
 chaine to set us all in greene and wee le al play the Pioners  
 to make us a cave and Cabban for al weathers.

*Elinor.* My sweete Lluellen though this sweet bee gal,  
 Patience doth conquer by out suffering al.

*Friar.* Now Manmocke deny I hold thee a peny,  
 Thou shalt have neither sheep nor goate:  
 But Frier David will fleece his coate, [E4<sup>v</sup>]  
 1210 Where ever Jacke my Novice jet,  
 Al is fishe with him that comes to net,  
 David this yeare thou paiest no dette.

*Exeunt ambo.*

*Enter Mortimor solus.*

*Mort.* Why Frier is it so plaine indeede,

- 1189-96 Prose in Qq  
 1190 *her*] Q2; *har* Q1  
 1192 *swim*] C Dyce + B; *win* Qq *Hellispont,*] *Hellispont* Qq  
 1193 *deserts*] *deserts*, Q1; *deserts*: Q2  
 1196 *sleepe*] Q2; *sseepe* Q1  
 1204 *and Cabban*] Q1; *and a Cabban* Q2  
 1206 *conquer by*] C Dyce + B; *conquer me by* Qq  
 1209 *David will fleece*] C Dyce + B; *David, Will fleeces* Q1; *David:*  
*Will fleeces* Q2  
 1210 *jet,*] *jet.* Qq  
 1213 *indeede*] *in deede* Qq

Lluellen art thou flatly so resolvde,  
 To roist it out and roust so neare the king?  
 What shal we have a passage kept in wales  
 For men at armes and knights adventurous?  
 By cocke Sir Rice I see no reason why,  
 Young Mortimor should [not] make one among:  
 1220 And play his part on Manmocke deny here,  
 For love of his beloved Elinor:  
 His Elinor, were shee his I wott,  
 The bitter Northern winde uppon the plaines,  
 The dampes that rise from out the quechy plots,  
 Nor influence of contagious aire should touch,  
 But shee should court yet with the proudest dames,  
 Rich in attire and sumptuous in her fare,  
 And take her ease in beds of safest Downe,  
 Why Mortimor may not thy offers move,  
 1230 And win sweet Elinor from Lluellens love,  
 Why plesant gold and gentle eloquence,  
 Have tyst the chapest Nymphs the fairest dames,  
 And vants of words, delights of wealth and ease,  
 Have made a Nunne to yeelde Lluellens,  
 Being set to see the last of desperate chance,  
 Why should so faire a starre stand in a vale,  
 And not be seene to sparkle in the skie?  
 It is enough Jove change his glittering robes:  
 To see Mennosyne and the flies.

1214 *resolvde,*] Q2; resolvde: Q11215 *king?*] king: Qq1216 *wales*] wales: Qq1219 *not*] C Dyce + B; Qq omit1220 *deny*] C Dyce + B; dying Qq1222 *Elinor,*] Elinor Qq      *were*] C Dyce + B; where Qq1223 *plaines,*] plaines: Qq1224 *quechy*] Q1; quesie Q2      *plots,*] plots: Qq1227 *fare,*] fare. Q1; fare: Q21232 *tyst*] Q2; tyset Q11236 *vale,*] vale? Qq1237 *not be*] Q1; not to be Q2      *skie?*] skie, Qq1239 *flies.*] Point turned in Q1.

1240 Maisters have after, gentle Robin hood,  
 You are not so wel accompanied I hope,  
 But if a potter come to plaie his part, [F1]  
 Youle give him stripes or welcome good or worse:  
 Goe Mortimor and make their love holidais,  
 The king wil take a common scuse of thee,  
 Who hath more men to attend then Mortimor.

*Exit Mortimor.*

[SCENE 8]

*Enter Lluellen, Meredith, Frier, Elinor, and their traine.  
 They are all clad in green &c. sing &c. Blith and bonny,  
 the song ended Lluellen speaketh.*

*Lluel.* Why so, I see my mates of olde,  
 All were not lies that Beldams told  
 Of Robin Hood and little John,  
 1250 Frier Tucke and Maide marian.

*Friar.* I forsooth maister.

*Lluel.* How well they coucht in forrest green,  
 Frolike and livelie withouten teene:  
 And spent their daie in game and glee,  
 Lluellen doe seeke if ought please thee,  
 Nor though thy foot be out of towne,  
 Let thine looke blacke on Edwards Crowne.  
 Nor thinke this greene is not so gaie,  
 As was the golden rich array:  
 1260 And if sweete Nel my Marrian,  
 Trust me as I am Gentleman:  
 Thou art as fine in this attire:

1240 *after,*] after Qq

1241 *hope,*] hope: Qq

1246 *Who*] And who Qq SD *Lluellen*] Q2; *Lluelleu* Q1

1248 *Beldams*] Dyce + B; *Bedlams* Qq *told*] told: Qq

1253 *withouten*] Dyce + B; with oaten Qq

1260 *sweete*] Q2; *sweere* Q1

As fine and fitte to my desire,  
 As when of Leisters Hal and bowre,  
 Thou wert the rose and sweetest flowre:  
 How saist thou Frier, say I wel?  
 For anie thing becomes my Nell.

*Friar.* Never made man of a woman borne,  
 A Bullockes taile a blowing horne,  
 Nor can an Asses hide disguise,  
 A Lion if he rampe and rise.

[F1<sup>v</sup>]

*Elinor.* My Lord, the Frier is wondrous wise.

*Lluel.* Beleeve him for he tels no lies,  
 But what doth little John devise?

*Mered.* That Robin Hood beware of spies,  
 An aged saying and a true,  
 Blacke wil take no other hue.  
 He that of old hath beene thy foe  
 Wil die but wil continue so.

*Friar.* O maisters, whither shal we [go],  
 Doth anie living creature knowe?

*Lluel.* Rice and I wil walke the round,  
 Frier see about the ground,

*Enter Mortimor.*

And spoile what praie is to be found.  
 My love I leave within in trust,  
 Because I knowe thy dealing just:  
 Come Potter come and welcome to,  
 Fare as we fare and doe as we doe.  
 Nell adiew, we goe for newes.

*Exit Lluellen and Meredith.*

1266 *Frier,*] Frier Qq

1278 *foe*] foe: Qq

1280-81 One line in Qq

1280 *go*] C Dyce + B; Qq omit

1283 *ground,*] ground. Qq

1287 *Potter*] Q1; Porter Q2

1289 Qq print as part of next speech. *adiew,*] Q2; adiew Q1  
*newes.*] newes, Qq

- 1290 *Friar.* A little serves the Friers lust,  
 When *volens volens* fast I must,  
 Maister at al that you refuse.
- Mort.* Such a porter would I choose,  
 When I meane to blinde a skuse,  
 While Robin walke with little John,  
 The Frier wil licke his marrian.  
 So wil the Potter if he can.
- Elinor.* Now Frier sith your lord is gone,  
 And you and I are left alone,  
 1300 What can the Frier doe or saie,  
 To passe the wearie time away?  
 Wearie God wot poore wench to thee,  
 That never thought these daies to see.
- Mort.* Breake heart and split mine eies in twaine,  
 Never let me heare those wordes againe.
- Friar.* What can the Frier doe or saie, [F2]  
 To passe the wearie time awaie?  
 More dare I doe then he dare saie,  
 Because he doubts to have away.
- 1310 *Elinor.* Doe somewhat Frier, saie or sing,  
 That may to sorrowes solace bring,  
 And I meane while wil Garlands make.
- Mort.* O Mortimor were it for thy sake,  
 A Garland were the happiest stake  
 That ever this hand unhappie drew.
- Friar.* Mistres shal I tel you true,  
 I have a song, I learnd it long agoe,  
 I wot not whether yole like it wel or no,  
 Tis short and sweete but somewhat brolde before,

- 1297 *Potter*] Porter Qq  
 1306 *saie,*] saie? Qq  
 1307 *awaie?*] awaie: Qq  
 1310 *Frier,*] Q2; Frier Q1  
 1314 *stake*] stake: Qq  
 1315 *band*] Q1; band Q2  
 1317 *song,*] soug Q1; song Q2  
 1318 *no*] Dyce 3 B; ill Qq

1320 Once let me sing it and I aske no more.

*Elinor.* What Frier wil you so indeede,

Agrees it somewhat with your neede?

*Frier.* Why mistres shal I sing my creede?

*Elinor.* Thats fitter of the two at neede.

*Mort.* O wench how maist thou hope to speede?

*Friar.* O mistres out it goes.

Looke what comes next the Frier throes.

*The Frier sittes along and singes.*

*Mort.* Such a sitting who ever saw,

An Eagles bird of a Jacke daw.

1330 *Elinor.* So Sir is this all?

*Mort.* Sweete heart heres no more.

*Elinor.* How now good fellow, more indeede,

By one then was before.

*Friar.* How now, the divel insteede of a dittie.

*Mort.* Frier a dittie come late from the cittie,

To aske some pittie of this lasse so pretty:

Some pittie sweete mistres I praie you.

*Elinor.* How now Frier, where are we now and you play not  
the man?

1340 *Friar.* Friend Copes mate, you that come late from the  
Cittie, [F2<sup>v</sup>]

To aske some pittie of this lasse so prettie,

In likenes of a doleful dittie,

Hang me if I doe not paie yee.

*Mort.* O Frier you grow chollericke, wel yole have no man  
to Court your mistres but your selfe, on my word ile take  
you downe a botton hole.

*Friar.* Ye talk, ye talke childe.

*Enter Lluellen and Meredith.*

1323 *creede?*] creede, Q1; creede. Q2

1332 *fellow,*] fellow Qq

1334 *now,*] now Qq *insteede*] in steede Qq

1338 *Frier,*] Frier Qq

1344-46 Q1 lineates: . . . yole / . . . selfe, / . . . hole.

1345 *mistres*] Q2; misters Q1

1346 *hole.*] Q2; hole, Q1

*Lluel.* Tis wel potter you fight in a good quarrel.

*Mered.* Mas this blade wil holde, let mee see then Frier.

1350 *Friar.* Mines for mine owne turne I warrant, give him his  
Tooles, rise and lets to it, but no change and if you love  
me, I skorne the oddes I can tel you, see faire play and you  
be Gentlemen.

*Lluel.* Mary shal we Frier, let us see, be their staves of a  
length?

Good, so now let us deeme of the matter

Frier and Potter without more clatter,

I have cast your water,

And see as deepe into your desire,

1360 As he that hadde dived everie day into your bosome, O Frier  
Wil nothing serve your turne but Larkes?

Are such fine birds for such course Clarkes?

None but my Marian can serve your turne.

*Elinor.* Cast water, for the house wil burne.

*Friar.* O mistres mistres flesh is fraile,

Ware when the signe is in the taile,

Mightie is love and doth prevaile.

*Lluel.* Therefore Frier shalt thou not faile,

But mightily your foe assaile

1370 And thrash this Potter with thy flaile,

And Potter never rave nor raile,

Nor aske questions what I aile:

But take this toole and doe not quaile,

But thrash this Friers russet cote:

[F3]

*They take the Flailes.*

1348 *quarrel.*] quarrel, Qq

1349 *holde,*] Q2; holde Q1

1355 *length?*] length Qq

1356-61 Prose in Qq

1357 *clatter,*] Q2; clatter Q1

1360 *dived*] Q2; dined Q1

1361 *Larkes?*] Larkes. Qq

1362 *Clarkes?*] Clarkes, Qq

1369 *assaile*] assaile: Qq

And make him sing a dastards note,  
And crie *Peccavi miserere David*.

*In amo amavi*: Goe to.

*Mort.* Strike, strike.

*Friar.* Strike Potter, be thou liefе or loth,  
And if youle not strike ile strike for both.

1380

*Potter strikes.*

[*Mort.*] He must needs go that the divel drives,  
Then Frier beware of other mens wives.

*Frier strikes.*

[*Friar.*] I wish maister proud Potter the Divell have my  
soule:

But ile make my flaile circumscribe your noule.

*Lluel.* Why so, now it cottens, now the game beginnes.  
One knave currieth another for his sinnes.

*Frier kneeles.*

[*Friar.*] O maister shorten my offences in mine eies.  
If this Crucifige doe not suffice,  
Send me to Heaven in a hempen sacrifice.

*Mortimer kneeles.*

1390 [*Mort.*] O maisters maisters let this bee warning:  
The Frier hath infected me with his learning.

*Lluel.* Villains do not touch the forbidden she  
Now to delude, or to dishonor me.

*Friar.* O maister, *quae negata sunt grata sunt*.

*Lluel.* Rice every day thus shal it be,

1379 *Potter,*] Potter Qq

1381 *Mort.*] Q1 omits; *Potter* Q2 drives,] Q2; drives Q1

1383 *Friar.*] Q2; Q1 omits

1387 *Friar.*] Q2; Q1 omits

1388 *Crucifige*] Q1; *Crucifixe* Q2

1390 *Mort.*] Q2; Q1 omits

1392-93 One line in Q1

1392 *she*] haire Qq

1395-98 Prose in Qq

Weele have a thrashing set among the Friers, and he  
That of these chalengers laies on slowest loade,  
Be thou at hand Rice to gore him with thy gode.

*Friar.* A Potter Potter the Frier may rue,

1400 That ever this day this our quarrel he knew:  
My pate adle, mine armes blacke and blue.

*Mort.* Ah Frier who may his fates force eschew,  
I thinke Frier you are prettilie scholde.

*Friar.* And I thinke the Potter is handsomlie coold.

*Exeunt ambo.*

*Mort.* No Mortimor, here that Eternal fire,  
That burnes and flames with brands of hot desire:  
Why Mortimor, why doest thou not discover,  
Thy selfe her knight her liegeman and her lover?

[F3<sup>v</sup>]

*Exit Mortimor.*

[SCENE 9]

*Enter John Balioll, King of Scots with his traine.*

1410 [*Balioll.*] Lords of Albania, and my peeres in France,  
Since Balioll is invested in his rights,  
And weares the roial Scottish Diadem,  
Time is to rouze him that the world may wotte,  
Scotland disdaines to carrie Englands yoke.  
Therefore my friends thus put in readines,  
Why slacke we time to greete the English king,  
With resolute message to let him know our minds?  
Lord Versses though thy faith and oath be tane,  
To follow Baliols armes for Scotlands right,

1402 *Mort.] Potter* Qq

1403 *scholde.] scholde,* Qq

1404 *coold.] coold,* Qq

1405 *Mortimor,]* Q2; Mortimor Q1

1409 *Balioll.] Qq omit Albania]* Albana Qq

1415 *king,]* king? Qq

1416 *minds?]* minds, Qq

1420 Yet is thy heart to Englands honor knit,  
 Therefore in spite of England and thy selfe,  
 Beare thou defiaunce proudly to thy king,  
 Tel him Albania findes heart and hope,  
 To shake off Englands tiranny betime,  
 To reskue Scotlands honor with his sword,  
 Lorde Bruze see cast about [Lord] Versses necke,  
 A strangling halter that he minde his hast.  
 How farest thou Versses, wilt thou doe this message?

*Versses.* Although no comon post, yet for my king  
 I wil to England maugre Englands might,  
 1430 And doe mine arrand boldly as becomes,  
 Albeit I honor English Edwards name,  
 And hold this slavish contemnement to skorne.

*Balioll.* Then hie away as swift as swallow flies,  
 And meete me on our rodes on Englands ground,  
 We there thinke of thy message and thy hast.

*Sound Trumpets. Exit Balioll.*

[SCENE 10]

*Enter King Edward Longshankes, Edmund Duke [F4]  
 of Lancaster, Gloster, Sussex, David, Cressingham, all  
 booted from Northam.*

*Long.* Now have I leasure Lords to bid you welcome into  
 Wales.

Welcome sweet Edmund to christen thy young nephew  
 And welcome Cressingham, give me thy hand,  
 But Sussex what became of Mortimor?

1423 *betime*] be time Q1; bee time Q2

1425 *Lord*] Qq omit

1427 *Versses,*] Q2; Versses Q1

1435 *We there thinke*] Q2; We therethinke Q1; Whither think Dyce 3;  
 'Way then! think B SD *Sound Trumpets*] Roman type in Qq  
*Cressingham, all*] C Dyce+; *Crespall* Qq; *Cressingham*, B

1440 We have not seene the man this manie a daie.  
*Sussex.* Before your highnes rid from hence to Northam,  
 Sir Roger was a suter to your Grace,  
 Touching faire Elinor Lluellens love,  
 And so belike denide with discontent,  
 A discontinues from your Roial presence.

*Long.* Why *Sussex* saide we not for Elinor,  
 So she would leave whom she had loved too long,  
 Shee might have favour with my Queene and me,  
 But man, her minde above her fortune mounts,  
 1450 And thats a cause she failes in her accounts.  
 But goe with me my lord of Lancaster,  
 We will goe see my beauiuous lovely Queene,  
 That hath inricht me with a goodly boie.

*King Edward, Edmund, and Gloster, goes into the  
 Queenes Chamber, the Queenes Tent opens, shee is dis-  
 covered in her bed, attended by Mary Dutches of Lan-  
 caster, Jone of Acon her daughter, and the Queen  
 dandles his young sonne.*

*Long.* Ladies by your leave,  
 How doth my Nell, mine owne, my love, my life,  
 My heart, my deare, my dove, my Queene, my wife.

*Elinor.* Ned art thou come, sweet Ned welcome my joy.  
 Thy Nell presents thee with a lovely boy,  
 Kisse him, and christen him after thine owne name.

1460 Hey ho whom doe I see,  
 My lord of Lancaster, welcome hartely.

*Lancaster.* I thanke your grace, sweet Nell wel mette  
 withall. [F4<sup>v</sup>]

*Q. Eli.* Brother Edmund heres a kinsman of yours, you must  
 needes be acquainted.

1440 *manie a daie*] Q1; manie daie Q2

1441 *Northam,*] Northam. Qq

1452 *beauiuous*] Q2; beauiuous Q1

1454-56 Prose in Qq

1460-61 One line in Qq

1463 *Edmund*] Q2; Emund Q1

*heres*] hers Q1; heers Q2

*yours,*] Q2; yours Q1

*Edmund.* A goodly boy, God blesse him, give mee your hand Sir, you are welcome into Wales.

*Q. Eli.* Brother thers a fist I warrant you wil holde a Mace as fast as ever did father or grandfather before him.

*Long.* But tel me now lapt in Lillie bands,

1470 How with my Queen, my lovely boie it stands:

After thy journey and these childbed paines.

*Q. Eli.* Sicke mine owne Ned thy Nell for thy companie:

That lured her with thy lies all so farre,

To follow thee unweldie in thy warre,

But I forgive thee Ned my lims delight:

So thy young sonne thou see be bravelie dight,

And in Carnarvan christened roiallie.

Sweet love let him be lapt most curiouslie,

He is thine owne, as true as he is thine,

1480 Take order then that he be passing fine.

*Long.* My lovelie Ladie let that care be lesse,

For my young sonne the countrey wil I feast:

And have him borne as bravely to the funt,

As ever yet Kings sonne to Christning went.

Lacke thou no precious thing to comfort thee,

Dearer then Englands Diadem unto me.

*Q. Eli.* Thankes gentle Lord, nurse rocke the Cradle, fie:

The King so neare, and here the boie to crie?

Jone take him up and sing a Lullabie.

1490 *Long.* Tis wel beleeve me wench, godamercie Jone.

*Edmund.* Shee learns my Lord to lull a young one of her owne.

*Q. Eli.* Give me some drinke.

*Long.* Drinke Nectar my sweete Nell,  
Worthy for seat in heaven with Jove to dwell. [G1]

*Elinor.* Gramercis Ned, now wel remembred yet,

I have a suite sweete lord, but you must not denie it,

1465 *boy,*] Q2; boy Q1

1469 *me*] Q2; in Q1

1470 *my Queen*] Q1; the Queene Q2

1486 *Dearer*] Dereare Q1; Deare are Q2

1490 *wench,*] Q2; wench Q1 *Jone.*] Q2; Jone, Q1

Where is my Lord of Gloster, good Clare mine host, my  
guide,

Good Ned let Jone of Acon be his bride,  
Assure your selfe that they are throughly wooed.

[*Edmund.*] God send the King be taken in the mood,

1500 Then Neece tis like that you shall have a husband.

*Long.* Come hither Gloster, hold give her thy hand,  
Take her, sole daughter to the Queene of England.

*Longshankes gives her to Gloster.*

For newes hee brought Nell of my young sonne,  
I promist him as much as I have done.

*Gloster and Jone hand in hand.*

[*Both.*] We humbly thank your majestie.

*Edmund.* Much joy may them betide,  
A gallant bridegrome and a princely bride.

*Long.* Now say sweete Queene what doth my Lady crave?  
Tell me what name shal this young Welshman have,

1510 Borne Prince of wales by Cambrias full consent?

*Elinor.* Edward the name, that doth me wel content.

*Long.* Then Edward of Carnarvan shal he be,  
And Prince of Wales christned in roialtie.

*D. Edm.* My Lord I thinke the Queene woulde take a nappe.

*Jone.* Nurse take the childe and hold [it] in your lappe.

*Long.* Farewell good Jone, be careful of my Queen.  
Sleepe Nell, the fairest Swan mine eies have seene.

1496 *Where is*] Whereas Qq; Where's Dyce 3 B      *Clare*] Clace Q1;  
Gloster Q2

1499-1500 Qq give these lines to Longshanks.

1500 *husband.*] husband, Q1; husband: Q2

1501 *Gloster,*] Gloster Q1; Gloster; Q2

1502 SD *Longshankes*] *Longsh.* Qq

1505 *Both.*] Qq omit

1509 *have,*] Q2; have. Q1

1510 *consent?*] consent. Qq

1511 *content.*] Q2; content, Q1

1514 *nappe.*] Q2; nappe, Q1

1515 *it*] Q2; Q1 omits      *lappe.*] Q2; lappe, Q1

1516 *Jone,*] Q2; Jone Q1

*They close the Tent.*

*D. Edm.* I had forgot to aske your Majesty,  
How doe you with the rebels here in Wales?

1520 *Long.* As kings with rebels Mun, our right prevails,  
We have good Robin Hood and little John,  
The Frier and the good Maide marrian. [G1<sup>v</sup>]  
Why our Lluellen is a mightie man.

*Gloster.* Trust me my Lord, me thinks twere very good  
That some good fellowes went and scourd the wood,  
And take in hand to cudgell Robin Hood.  
I thinke the Frier for all his lusty lookes,  
Nor Robin rule with their gleaves and hookes,  
But would be quickly driven to the nookes.

1530 *David.* I can assure your highnes what I knowe,  
The false Lluellen will not runne nor goe,  
Or give an inche of ground come man for man,  
Nor that proude rebel called little John,  
To him that welds the massiest sword of England.

*Gloster.* Welshman, how wilt thou that we understand?  
But for Lluellen, David I denie,  
England hath men will make Lluellen flie,  
Maugre his beard and hide him in a hole,  
Wearie of Englands dints and manly dole.

1540 *D. Edm.* Gloster, grow not so hot in Englands right,  
That paints his honor out in everie fight.

*Long.* By Gis faire Lords ere many daies be past,  
England shall give this Robin Hood his breakfast.  
David, be secrete friend to that I saie,  
And if I use thy skill thou knowest the waie,  
Where this proude Robin and his yeomen rome.

*David.* I do my Lord and blindfold thither can I run.

*Long.* David enough, as I am a Gentleman,

1519 *rebels*] Abbies Qq *Wales?*] Q2; Wales, Q1

1528 *gleaves*] gleames Qq; glaives-Dyce 3 B

1531 *goe,*] goe. Q1; goe: Q2

1534 *England.*] Q2; England, Q1

1535 *undertand?*] understand, Qq

1545 *waie,*] Q2; waie. Q1

1550 Ile have one merrie flirt with little John,  
 And Robin Hood, and his Maide marrian.  
 Be thou my counsell and my companie,  
 And thou maist Englands resolution see.

*Enter Sussex before the foure Barons of Wales.*

*Sussex.* May it please your majestie, here are foure good Squires of the Cantreds where they do dwell, come in the name of the whole countrey to gratulate unto your [G2] highnes all your good fortunes, and by me offer their most humble service to your young sonne their Prince, whom they most heartely beseech God to blesse with long life and honor.

1560 *Long.* Wel said Sussex, I pray bid them come neare, Sir David trust me, this is kindly don of your cuntrey men.

*David.* Villains, Traitors to the ancient glory and renowne of Cambria, Morris Vaghan art thou there, and thou proude Lord of Anglesee.

*Enter Sussex with the foure Barrons of Wales, with the Mantle of frise. They kneele downe.*

*Baron.* The poore countrey of Cambria by us unworthie messengers, gratulats to your majesty the birth of your young sonne Prince of Wales, and in this poore present express their most zealous duetie and affection, which with all humblenes we present to your highnes sweete and  
 1570 sacred hands.

*Long.* Gramercis Barons for your giftes and good wils, by this means my boie shal weare a Mantle of cuntries weaving to keepe him warm, and live for Englands honor and Cambrias good, I shall not neede I trust curteously to invite

1552 *Englands]* Q2; Enlands Q1

1553 *foure]* Q2; 4. Q1

1560 *Sussex,]* Q2; Sussex Q1

1561 *David]* Dau. Qq

1564 SD *They kneele downe]* Qq print as a separate direction immediately following l. 1564.

1565 *Baron.] Mantle Barrons.* Qq

1567 *present express]* C Dyce + B; prest exprest Qq

you, I doubt not Lords but you wil be all in readines to waite on your young Prince and doe him honor at his christning.

*Sussex.* The whole countrey of Cambria round about all wel horst and attended on, both men and women in their best array, are come downe to doe service of love and honour to our late born Prince, your Majesties son and honnie, the men and women of Snowdone especially have sent in great abundance of cattle and corn enough by computacion for your highnes houshold a whole month and more.

*Long.* We thank them all, and wil present our Queene with these curtesies and presents bestowed on her yong Son, and greatly account you for our frends.

*Exite four Barons.*

*The Queens Tent opens, the King, his brother, [G2<sup>v</sup>] the Earle of Gloster enter.*

*Elinor.* Who talketh there?

*Long.* A friend Madam.

*Jone.* Madam it is the King.

*Elinor.* Welcome my Lord, hey ho what have wee there?

*Long.* Madam the countrey in all kindnes and duty recommend their service and good will to your sonne and in token of their pure good will, presents him by us with a mantle of frize richlie lined to keepe him warm.

*Q. Eli.* A mantle of frize, fie fie, for Gods sake let me here no more of it and if you love me, fie my lorde, is this the wisdom and kindnes of the countrey? now I commend me to them all, and if Wales have no more witte or manners,

1579 *horst*] horst, Qq      *on,*] on Qq

1582 *Snowdone*] Sowdone Q1; Sowdon Q2

1584 *houshold*] Q2; housheld Q1

1585 *Queene*] Q2; Q Q1

1587 *SD four*] 4 Qq      *King, his brother,*] *King his brother* Qq

1591 *Lord,*] Lord Q1; Lord: Q2

1595 *warm.*] Q2; warm, Q1

1596 *fie,*] Q2; fie Q1

1597 *fie*] Q1; hee Q2      *lorde,*] Q2; lorde Q1

1600 then to cloath a Kings sonne in frize, I have a mantle in  
store for my boie, that shall I trowe make him shine like the  
sonne, and perfume the streetes where he comes.

*Long.* In good time Madam, he is your own, lappe him as  
you list, but I promise thee Nell I would not for tenne  
thousand pounds the countrey should take unkindnes at  
thy wordes.

*Q. Eli.* Tis no marvaile sure, you have been roially receaved  
at their handes,

No Ned, but that thy Nell doth want of her will,

1610 Her boie should glister like the Sommers Sunne  
In robes as rich as Jove when hee triumphes.

His pappe should be of precious Nectar made,

His food Ambrosia, no earthlie womans milke,

Sweete fires of Sinamon to open him by,

The Graces on his craddle should attend,

Venus should make his bed and waite on him,

And Phebus daughter sing him still asleepe.

Thus would I have my boie used as devine,

Because he is king Edwardes sonne and mine.

1620 And doe you meane to make him up in frize, [G3]

For God sake laie it up charilie, and perfume it against  
winter, it will make him a goodly warme Christemas coate.

*Long.* Ah Mun my brother, dearer then my life,  
How this proude honor slaies my heart with grieve.

Sweete Queene how much I pittie the effects,

This Spanish pride grees not with Englands prince,

Milde is the mind where honor builds his bowre,

And yet is earthlie honor but a flowre.

Fast to those lookes are all my fancies tide,

1630 Pleasde with thy sweetnes, angry with thy pride.

1600 *frize,*] Q2; frize Q1

1602 *perfume*] prefume Qq

1609-11 Prose in Qq

1613 *Ambrosia,*] Q2; Ambrosia Q1

1617 *asleepe*] a sleepe Qq

1624 *honor*] Qq; humour Dyce 3 B

*Q. Eli.* Fie fie, me thinkes I am not where I shoulde bee,  
Or at the least I am not where I would be.

*Long.* What wants my Queene to perfecte her content,  
But aske and have, the King will not repent.

*Q. Eli.* Thankes gentle Edward, lordes have at you then,  
Have at you all long bearded Englishmen,  
Have at you lords and ladies when I crave,  
To give your English pride a Spanish brave.

*Long.* What meanes my Queene Gloster, this is a Spanish  
fitte.

1640 *Q. Eli.* Ned thou hast graunted and canst not revoke it.

*Long.* Sweete Queene saie on, my worde shall bee my deede.

*Q. Eli.* Then shal my wordes make many a bosom bleede.  
Reede Ned thy Queenes request lapt up in rime,  
And saie thy Nell had skil to choose her time.

*Read the paper Rice.*

The pride of Englishmens long haire,  
Is more then Englands Queene can beare:

Womens right breast cut them off al,

And let the great tree perish with the small.

[G3<sup>v</sup>]

*Long.* What meanes my lovelie Elinor by this?

1650 *Q. Eli.* Not be denide for my request it is.

*The rime is, that mens beards and womens breasts bee  
cutte off. &c.*

*D. Edm.* Gloster, an olde said saying,

He that grants all is askt,

Is much harder then Hercules taskt.

*Gloster.* Were the King so mad as the Queen is wood,

1631 *fie,*] Q<sub>2</sub>; *fie* Q<sub>1</sub>

1633 *What*] Q<sub>2</sub>; *Wat* Q<sub>1</sub>

1634 *have,*] Q<sub>2</sub>; *have* Q<sub>1</sub>

1641 *on,*] Q<sub>2</sub>; *on* Q<sub>1</sub>

1642 *bleede.*] Point turned in Q<sub>1</sub>

1651-52 One line in Q<sub>q</sub>

1653 *taskt*] *taske* Q<sub>q</sub>

Here were an end of Englands good.

*Long.* My word is past, I am well agreede,  
Let mens beards milt and womens bosomes bleed.  
Call foorth my Barbers, Lords weelee first beginne.

*Enter two Barbers.*

Come sirra, cutte me close unto the chinne,  
1660 And round me even seest thou by a dishe,  
Leave not a locke, my Queene shall have her wishe.  
*Q. Eli.* What Ned, those locks that ever pleasd thy Nel?  
Where her desire, where her delight doth dwell,  
Wilt thou deface that silver laborinth,  
More orient then purplde Hyancinth?  
Sweet Ned, thy sacred person ought not droupe,  
Though my command make other gallants stoupe.  
*Long.* Madam, pardon me and pardon all,  
No justice but the great runnes with the small.  
1670 Tell me good Gloster art thou not affeard?  
*Gloster.* No my Lord but resolvde to lose my bearde.  
*Long.* Now Madam if you purpose to proceede,  
To make so many guiltles Ladies bleede,  
Here must the law begin, sweete Elinor at thy breast,  
And strech it selfe with violence to the rest.  
Else Princes ought no other doe,  
Faire ladie, then they would be done unto.  
*Q. Eli.* What logick cal you this, doth Edward mock his  
love?  
*Long.* No Nell, he doth as best in honor doth behove,  
1680 And praies thee gentle Queene, and let my praier move,  
Leave these ungentle thoughts, put on a milder mind, [G4]

1656 *past,*] Q2; past Q1

1659 *sirra,*] Q2; sirra Q1

1663 *Where*] C Dyce + B; Were Qq

1664 *laborinth,*] Q2; laborinth? Q1

1665 *purplde*] C Dyce + B; pimplde Qq      *Hyancinth?*] Q2; Hyancinth, Q1

1673 *bleede,*] Q2; bleede. Q1

1679 *Nell,*] Q2; Nell Q1

1680 *praier*] praies Q1; prayer Q2

Sweet lookes, not loftie, civil mood becomes a womans kinde:

And live as being dead, and buried in the ground,  
Thou maist for affability and honor be renownde.

*Q. Eli.* Naie and you preach, I pray my lord be gon,  
The childe will crie and trouble you anon.

*The Nurse closeth the Tent.*

*Maris. Quo semel est imbuta recens servabit odorem  
Testa diu.*

1690 Proud incest in the craddle of disdaine,  
Bred up in court of pride, brought up in Spaine,  
Doest thou command him coily from thy sight,  
That is the starre, the glorie of thy sight?

*Long.* O could I with the riches of my crowne,  
Buy better thoughts for my renowned Nel,  
Thy minde sweete Queen should be as beautifull,  
As is thy face, as is thy features all,  
Fraught with pure honors treasure, and enricht,  
With vertues and glorie incomparable.

1700 Ladies about her Majestie, se that the Queen your mother  
know not so much, but at any hand our pleasure is, that  
our young sonne be in this Mantle borne to his Christening,  
for speciall reasons is thereto moving, from the Church as  
best it please your womens wittes to devise, yet sweete  
Jone see this faithfullie perfourmed, and heare you daughter,  
looke you be not last up when this day coms, least Gloster  
find another Bride in your steed, David goe with me.

*Gloster.* Shee riseth earelie Jone, that beguileth thee of a  
Gloster.

1685 *be gon*] Q2; begon Q1

1687-88 Qq print as one line, centered, without ascription.

1689 *Proud incest . . . of disdaine*] Qq; Proud, infect . . . with dis-  
dain B

1691 *sight,*] Q2; sight? Q1

1692 *sight?*] sight. Q1; light. Q2

1697 *pure*] Q1; true Q2      *honors treasure*] Dyce 3 B; honor, treas-  
ure Qq

*Edmund.* Beleeve him not sweete Neece, wemen can speake  
 1710 smooth for advantage.

*Jone.* We men doe you mean my good unckle? Well be the  
 accent where it will, women are women, I will beleeve you  
 for as great a matter as this comes to my lord.

*Gloster.* Grammercies sweet ladie, *et habebis fidei mercedem*  
*contrâ.*

*Exite.*

*Enter the Novice and his company to give the* [G4<sup>v</sup>]  
*Queene Musicke at her Tent.*

*Novice.* Come fellowes, cast your selves even round in a  
 string, a ring I would say, come merelie on my word, for  
 the Queene is most liberall, and if you will please her well  
 shee wil paie you roially, sol la mi fa ti, brave wel thy  
 1720 Brittishe lustilie, to solace our good Queene, God save her  
 Grace, and give our young Prince a carrell in their kinde,  
 come on come on, set your crouds and beate your heads to-  
 gether and behave you handsomelie.

*Here they sing. [Exeunt.]*

[SCENE II]

*Enter the Frier David alone.*

*Friar.* I have a budget in my nose this gaie morning, and  
 now wil I trie how clarkly the Frier can behave him selfe,  
 tis a common fashion to get golde with stand, deliver your

- 1709 *Beleeve*] Q2; beleeve Q1  
 1712 *will,*] Q2; will Q1  
 1715 *SD Tent*] Q2; *Teut* Q1  
 1717 *word,*] Q2; word Q1  
 1719 *sol la mi fa ti,*] so lawful to Qq  
 1720 *Queene,*] Queene Qq  
 1721 *carrell*] carpell Qq  
 1722 *on,*] Q2; on Q1  
 1723 *SD Exeunt.*] Qq omit

1730 purses, Frier David wil once in his daies get money by witte, there is a rich Farmer should passe this waie to receave a round summe of money, if hee come to me the money is mine, and the law shall take no vantage, I wil cut off the law as the hangman would cutte a man downe when he hath shaken his heeles halfe an hour under the gallowes, wel I must take some pains for this golde, and have at it.

*The Frier spreads the lappet of his gowne and fals to dice. Enter a Farmer.*

*Farmer.* Tis an olde saide saying, I remember I redde it in Catoes *Pueriles*, that *Cantabit vacuus coram latrone viator*. A man purse pennillesse may sing before a thiefe, true as I have not one pennie, which makes me so peartly passe through these thickets, but indeede I receave a hundred marks, and al the care is how I shal passe againe, wel, [H1]  
1740 I resolved either to ride twenty miles about, or else to be so well accompanied that I will not care for these ruffelers.

*Friar.* Did ever man play with such uncircumcised handes, sice ace to eleven and lose the chaunce.

*Farmer.* God speed good fellow, why chafest thou so fast, thers no body will win thy money from thee.

*Friar.* Sounds you offer me injury Sir to speake in my cast.

*Farmer.* The Frier undoubtedly is lunaticke, I pray thee good fellow leave chaffing, and get some warme drinke to comfort thy braines.

1750 *Friar.* Alas Sir I am not lunaticke, tis not so well, for I have lost my money which is farre worse, I have lost five golde Nobles to S. Francis, and if I knew where to meete with his receaver I would paie him presently.

*Farmer.* Wouldest thou speake with S. Francis receaver?

*Friar.* O Lord, I Sir full gladlie.

1727 *David*] Davies Qq

1728 *waie*] waies Qq

1734 *saying*,] Q2; saying Q1

1736 *man*] Dyce 3; mans Qq

1740 *I resolved*] Qq; I am resolved C Dyce + B

1752 S.] Q2; S Q1

*Farmer.* Why man I am S. Francis receaver, if you would have anie thing with him.

*Friar.* Are you S. Francis receaver, Jesus, Jesus, are you S. Francis receaver, and how does all?

1760 *Farmer.* I am his receaver, and am now going to him, a bids S. Thomas a Waterings to breakefast this morning to a calves head and bacon.

*Friar.* Good Lord Sir I beseech you carrie him these five Nobles, and tell him I deale honestlie with him as if he were here present.

*Farmer.* I will of my word and honestie Frier, and so farewell.

1770 *Friar.* Farewel S. Francis receaver even heartely, well now the Frier is out of cash five Nobles, God knowes how he shall come into cash againe, but I must to it againe, theres nine for your holines and sixe for me.

*Enter Lluellen, Meredith, Potter, with there* [H1<sup>v</sup>]  
*prisoners.*

*Lluel.* Come on my hearts, bring forth your prisoners and let us see what store of fishe is there in their pursenets, Frier why chafest thou man? heres no bodie wil offer thee anie foule plaie I warrant thee.

*David.* O good maister give me leave, my hand is in a little, I trust I shall recover my losses.

1780 *Lluel.* The Frier is mad, but let him alone with his devise, and now to you my maisters, Pedler, Priest and Piper, throw downe your budgets in the mean while, and when the Frier is at leasure he shal tel you what you shall trust to.

*Pedler.* Alas sir I have but three pence in the corner of my shoe.

*Mered.* Never a shoulder of Mutton Piper in your Taber, but soft here comes companie.

*Enter Longshankes, David, Farmer.*

1760 *a bids*] Q2; abids Q1

1763 *you carrie*] Q1; you to carrie Q2

1774 *man?*] Q2; man Q1

1782 *three*] Q2; 3. Q1

1783 *shoe.*] Q2; shoe, Q1

*Farmer.* Alas gentlemen if you love your selves doe not venter through this mountaine, heres such a coile with Robin Hood and his rabell that everie crosse in my purse trembles for feare.

1790 *Long.* Honest man as I saide to thee before, conduct us through this wood, and if thou beest robde, or have anie violence offered thee, as I am a Gentleman I will repaie it thee againe.

*David.* How much money hast thou about thee?

*Farmer.* Faith Sir a hundred marks, I received it even now at Breaknocke, but out alas we are undone, yonder is Robin Hood and al the strong theeves in the mountain, I have no hope left but your honors assurance.

*Long.* Feare not, I will be my words maister.

1800 *Friar.* Good maister and if you love the Frier,  
Give ayme a while I you desire:  
And as you like of my devise,  
So love him that holdes the dise.

*Farmer.* What Frier art thou stil laboring so hard, wil [H2]  
you have anie thing more to S. Francis?

*Friar.* Good lord are you here sweet S. Francis receaver,  
how doth his holines and al his good familie?

*Farmer.* In good health faith Frier, hast thou anie Nobles for him?

1810 *Friar.* You knowe the dice are not partiall, and Saint Francis were ten Saints they wil favor him no more then they would favour the Divel if he plaie at dice, in verie truth my friend they have favored the Frier, and I have won a hundred marks of S. Francis, come Sir I praie, sirra draw it over, I know sirra he is a good man and never deceaves none.

*Farmer.* Draw it over, what meanest thou by that?

*Friar.* Why *in numeratis pecuniis legem pone*, paie me my winnings.

1797 *mountain,*] Q2; mountain Q1

1799 *not,*] not Qq

1800-03 Lineation follows Q2; prose in Q1

1810 *partiall,*] Q2; partiall Q1

1811 *Saints*] S. Qq

1813 *hundred*] C. Qq

1814 *over,*] Q2; over Q1

*Farmer.* What asse is this, should I pay thee thy winnings?

1820 *Friar.* Why art not thou sirra Saint Francis receaver?

*Farmer.* Indeede I doe receave for Saint Francis.

*Friar.* Then ile make you paie for S. Francis thats flat.

*Busling on both sides.*

*Farmer.* Helpe helpe I am robde, I am robde.

*Long.* Villaine you wrong the man, hands off.

*Friar.* Maisters I beseech you leave this brawling and give me  
leave to speake, so it is I went to dice with S. Francis and  
lost five Nobles, by good fortune his Cashier came by, re-  
ceaved it of me in readie cash, I being verie desirous to trie  
my fortune further, plaide still, and as the dice not being  
1830 bound prentise to him or anie man, favored me, I drew a  
hand and wonne a hundred marks, now I refer it to your  
judgements whither the Frier is to seeke his winnings.

*Long.* Marie Frier the Farmer must and shall paie thee  
honestly ere he passe.

*Farmer.* Shall I sir, why will you be content to paie halfe as  
you promist me?

*Long.* I Farmer if you had beene robde of it, but if you bee  
a gamester ile take no charge of you I.

*Farmer.* Alas I am undone. [H2<sup>v</sup>]

1840 *Lluel.* So sir Frier, now you have gathered up your winnings  
I pray you stand up and give the messengers their charge  
that Robin Hood may receive his Toule.

*Friar.* And shal my Lord. Our thrise renowmed Lluellen  
Prince of Wales and Robin Hood of the great mountaine,  
doth will and command all passengers at the sight of  
Richard servaunt unto me Frier David ap Tucke to lay  
downe their weapons, and quietlie to yeeld for custom to-  
wards the maintenance of his highnes wars, the halfe of al  
such golde, silver, money, and money worth, as the saide  
1850 messenger hath then about him, but if he conceal anie part  
or parcel of the same, then shall he forfeite all that he pos-

1836 *me?*] me. Qq

1841 *messengers*] Q2; messeugers Q1; passengers Dyce 3 B

1850 *messenger*] Qq; passenger Dyce 3 B

sesseth at that present, and this sentence is irrevocable confirmed by our Lord Lluellen Prince of Wales, and Robin Hood of the great mountaines.

*Lluel.* So vaile your budgettes to Robin of the mountaine, but what art thou that disdainest to paie this custome, as if thou scornest the greatnes of the prince of Wales?

*Long.* Faith Robin thou seemest to be a good fellow, theres my bagge, halfe is mine and halfe is thine, but lets to it if  
1860 thou darst man for man, to trie who shal have the whole.

*Lluel.* Why thou speakest as thou shouldst speak. My maisters on pain of my displeasure depart the place and leave us two to our selves, I must lope his Longshankes, for ile eare to a paire of Longshankes.

*Long.* They are faire markes sir, and I must defende as I may, Davy be gone, hold here my hearts, long legs gives you this amongst you to spend blows one with another.

*David.* Now Davies daies are almost come at ende.

*Mort.* But Mortimor this sight is strange, staye thou in some  
1870 corner to see what wil befall in this battaile.

*Edward.* Now Robin of the wood, alias Robin Hood, be it knowen to your worship by these presents, that the Longshankes which you aime at, have brought the king of England into these mountaines, to sue Lluellen, and to [H<sub>3</sub>] cracke a blade with his man that supposeth himselfe Prince of Wales.

*Lluel.* What Sir King, welcome to Cambria, what foolish Edward, darst thou endanger thy selfe to travail these mountaines, art thou so foolish hardie as to combate with the  
1880 Prince of Wales?

*Edward.* What I dare thou seest, what I can performe thou shalt shortlie knowe, I thinke thee a Gentleman, and therefore holde no scorne to fight with thee.

1858 *fellow,*] Q<sub>2</sub>; fellow Q<sub>1</sub>

1867 *another.*] an other, Q<sub>1</sub>; an other. Q<sub>2</sub>

1868 Qq print as part of preceding speech: "*Davie* now *Davie* daies . . . ende."

1874 *sue*] use Qq; see Dyce 3; visit B

1877 *Cambria*] Cambrias Qq

*Lluel.* No Edward I am as good a man as thy selfe.

*Long.* That shall I trie.

*They fight, and David takes his brothers part, and Mortimor the Kings.*

*Edward.* Halloe Edward how are thy senses confounded, what Davy is it possible thou shouldest be false to England?

*David.* Edward I am true to Wales, and so have beene frendes since my birth, and that shal the King of England  
1890 know to his cost.

*Lluel.* What Potter, did not I charge you to be gon with your fellowes?

*Mort.* No Traitor, no Potter I, but Mortimor the Earle of March, whose comming to these woods, is to deceive thee of thy love, and reserved to save my soveraignes life.

*David.* Uppon them brother, let them not breath.

*The King hath Lluellen downe, and David hath Mortimor downe.*

*Long.* Villaine thou diest, God and my right hath prevailed.

*David.* Base Earle now doth David triumph in thine overthrow, aie is me, Lluellen at the feet of Longshanks.

1900 *Long.* What Mortimor under the sword of such a [H<sub>3</sub><sup>v</sup>] Traitor?

*Mort.* Brave King run thy sword up to the hiltes into the bloud of the rebell.

*Long.* O Mortimor thy life is dearer to me then millions of rebels.

*David.* Edward relieve my brother and Mortimor lives.

*Long.* I villaine, thou knowest too wel how deare I holde my Mortimor, rise man and assure thee, and the hate I beare to

1891 *be gon*] Q<sub>2</sub>; *begon* Q<sub>1</sub>

1893 *Traitor,*] Q<sub>2</sub>; *Traitor* Q<sub>1</sub>

1896 *brother,*] Q<sub>2</sub>; *brother* Q<sub>1</sub>

1899 *me,*] Q<sub>2</sub>; *me* Q<sub>1</sub>

1907 *villaine,*] Q<sub>2</sub>; *villaine* Q<sub>1</sub>

thee is love, in respect of the deadly hatred I beare to that  
notorious rebell.

1910

*Mort.* Awaie, his sight to me is like the sight of a Cockea-  
trice, villaine I goe to revenge me on thy treason, and to  
make thee patterne to the world, of mountainous treason,  
falshood and ingratitude.

*Exit Mortimor [and Longshanks].*

*David.* Brother a chafes, but hard was your hap to be over-  
mastered by the coward.

*Lluel.* No coward David, his courage is like to the Lion, and  
were it not that rule and soveraigntie sets us at jarre, I could  
love and honor the man for his valour.

1920

*David.* But the Potter, oh the villaine will never out of my  
minde whilst I live, and I wil laie to be revenged on his  
villanie.

*Lluel.* Wel David what wil be shall be, therefore casting  
these matters out of our heads, David thou art welcome to  
Cambria, let us in and bee merrie after this colde cooling,  
and to prepare to strengthen our selves against the last  
threatnings.

*Exeunt ambo.*

[SCENE 12]

*After the Christening and marriage done, the Harrolds  
having attended, they passe over, the bride is led by two  
Noble men, Edmund of Lancaster, and the Earle of Sus-  
sex, and the Bishop.*

*Gloster.* Welcome Jone Countesse of Gloster, to Gilbert de  
Clare for ever.

1909 *love*] C Dyce + B; long Qq

1913 *mountainous*] mountains Q1; Mountaines Q2; monstrous C  
Dyce + B

1914 *SD and Longshanks*] Qq omit

1929 *ever.*] ever, Qq

1930 [Edmund.] God give them joie, cosin Gloster, let us [H4]  
now goe visite the King and Queen, and present ther Ma-  
jesties with their yong sonne, Edward Prince of Wales.

*Then all passe in their order to the kings pavilion, the king  
sits in his Tent with his pages about him.*

Bishop. Wee present your highnes most humblie, with your  
young sonne Edward of Carnarvan Prince of Wales.

*Sound Trumpets.*

Omnes. God save Edward of Carnarvan prince of Wales.

*Longshanks kisses them both.*

[Long.] Edward Prince of Wales God blesse thee with long  
life and honor, welcom Jone countesse of Gloster, God  
blesse thee and thine for ever. Lords let us visite my Queene  
and wife, whome we wil at once present with a Son and  
1940 daughter honored to her desire.

*Sound Trumpets, they all march to the Chamber. Bishop  
speakes to her in her bed.*

[Bishop.] Wee humblie present your Majestie with your  
yong sonne Edward of Carnarvan Prince of Wales.

*Sound Trumpets.*

Omnes. God save Edward of Carnarvan prince of Wales.

*Queene Elinor shee kisses him.*

[Q. Eli.] Gramercis Bishop, holde take that to buie thee a  
Rochet, welcome Welshman, here Nurse open him and

1930-32 Part of preceding speech in Qq; C Dyce + B ascribe to Sussex

1933 *present*] C Dyce 2; represent Qq; here present Dyce 3 B

1935 SD *Longshanks . . . both*] Q2; Q1 prints *Longsh. . . . both* at be-  
ginning of speech without separate ascription.

1938 *Lords*] Q2; lords Q1

1941 *Bishop.*] Qq omit

1943 *Wales.*] Q2; wales: Q1

1944 *Q. Eli.*] Qq omit

1945 *Rochet*] Dyce + B; Rochell Qq

have him to the fire for God sake, they have touzed him,  
and washt him throughlie and that bee good, and welcome  
Jone Countesse of Gloster, God blesse thee with long life,  
honor, and hearts ease. I am now as good as my word  
1950 Gloster, shee is thine, make much of her gentle Earle.

*Long.* Now my sweete Nell what more commandeth my  
Queene that nothing may want to perfect her contentment.

*Q. Eli.* Nothing sweet Ned, but pray my king to feaste the  
Lords and ladies roiallie, and thanks a thousand times good  
men and women, to you all, for this duetie and [H4<sup>v</sup>]  
honor done to your Prince.

*Long.* Maister Bridegroom by olde custome this is your  
waiting daie, Sir David you may commaund al ample wel-  
come in our court, for your cuntreymen: brother Edmund  
1960 revell it now or never for honour of your Englands sonne,  
Gloster now like a brave Bridegrome marshall this manie,  
and set these Lords and Ladies to dancing, so shall you ful-  
fil the olde English proverbe, tis merrie in Hall when beardes  
wag all.

*After the showe, and the King and Queen with all the  
lordes and ladies in place, Longshanks speaketh.*

[*Long.*] What tidings bringes Versses to our court?

*Enter in Versses with a halter about his necke.*

*Versses.* Tidinges to make thee tremble Englishe king.

*Long.* Me tremble boie? must not bee newes from Scotland,  
Can once make Englishe Edward stand agaste.

*Versses.* Balioll hath chosen at this time to sturre,

1970 To rouse him Lion like and cast the yoke:  
That Scots ingloriouslie have borne from thee,  
And all the predecessors of thy line:  
And make his roddes to reobtaine his rights,

1947 *washt him*] wash thim Q<sub>1</sub>; wash him Q<sub>2</sub>

1950 *thine,*] Q<sub>2</sub>; thine Q<sub>1</sub>

1965 *Long.*] Qq omit

1967-68 Lineation follows Q<sub>2</sub>; prose in Q<sub>1</sub>

And for his homage sends thee al this despight.

*Edmund.* Why how now princockes, pratest thou to a king?

*Versses.* I doe my message truely from my king,  
This sword and targot chide in lowder tearmes,  
I bring defiance from king John Balioll,  
To English Edward and his Barons all.

1980 *Long.* Marie so me thinkes thou defiest mee with a witnes.

*Versses.* Balioll my king in Barwicke makes his Court,  
His campe he spreads uppon the sandie plaine,  
And dares thee to the battaile in his right. [11]

*Edmund.* What Court and Campe in Englishmens despight?

*Long.* Hold messenger, commend me to thy King,

Weare thou my chaine and carrie this to him,  
Greete all his route of Rebels more or lesse,  
Tel them such shamefull end will hit them all,  
And wend with this as resolutely backe,  
1990 As thou to England broughst thy Scottish braves,  
Tel then disdainefullie Balioll from us,  
Weele rouse him from his hold, and make him soone  
Disloge his Campe, and take his walled towne.  
Saie what I bid thee *Versses* to his teeth.  
And earne this favour and a better thing.

*Versses.* Yes King of England whom my heart beloves,  
Thinke as I promist him to brave thee heare,  
So shall I bid John Balioll bace from thee.

*Long.* So shalt thou earne my chaine and favour *Versses*,  
2000 And carrie him this token that thou sendst:

Why now is Englands harvest ripe,  
Barons now maie you reape the rich renowne,  
That under warlicke colours springs in field,  
And growes where ensignes wave uppon the plains.  
False Balioll Barwicke is no hold of prooffe,  
To shrowd thee from the strength of Edwards arme,

1974 *al this despight*] Qq; all despite Dyce 3; this despite B

1975 *princockes*,] Q2; princockes Q1

2004 *wave*] C Dyce + B; wan Qq

2005 *Barwicke*] Q2; Warwicke Q1

No Scot, thy Treasons feare shal make the breach,  
For Englands pure renowne to enter on.

*Omnes.* Amaine amaine uppon these treacherous Scottes.

2010 Amaine saie all, uppon these treacherous Scots.

*Long.* While wee with Edmund, Gloster, and the rest,  
With speedie journeis gather up our forces,  
And beat these braving Scots from Englands bounds,  
Mortimor thou shalt take the route in taske,  
That revell here and spoile faire Cambria,  
My Queene when shee is strong and well afoote, [11<sup>v</sup>]  
Shall post to London and repaste her there,  
Then God shall send us happely all to meete,  
And joy the honors of our victories,  
2020 Take vantage of our foes and see the time,  
Keepe stil our hold, our fight yet on the plaine,  
Balioll I come, proud Balioll and ingrate,  
Perswaded to chase thy men from Englands gate.

*Exit Edward King [et omnes].*

[SCENE 13]

*Enter Balioll with his traine.*

*Balioll.* Princes of Scotland and my loving friends,  
Whose neckes are over-wearied with the yoke,  
And servile bondage of these Englishmen,  
Lift up your hornes, and with your brasen hooves,  
Spurne at the honor of your Enemies.  
Tis not ambitious thoughts of private rule,

2007 *Scot,*] Q2; Scot Q1

2008 *on*] Dyce 2; one Qq; in C Dyce 3 B

2010 *Scots.*] Q2; Scots, Q1

2016 *afoote*] a foote Qq

2022 *come,*] Q2; come Q1

2023 SD *et omnes*] Qq omit

2024 *friends,*] Q2; friends. Q1

2028 *Spurne*] C Dyce + B; Spurre Qq

2030 Hath forst your king to take on him these Armes,  
 Tis countreis cause, it is the common good,  
 Of us and of our brave posterity,  
 To armes, to armes.  
 Versses by this hath tolde the King our mindes,  
 And he hath braved proud England to the prooffe,  
 We will remunerate his resolution,  
 With gold, with glory, and with kingly gifts.  
 Lorde. By sweet Saint Jerem Versses will not spare,  
 To tell his message to the English King:  
 2040 And beard the jolly Longshankes to his face,  
 Were he the greatest Monarch in the world,  
 And here he comes, his halter makes him hast.

*Enter Versses.*

[Versses.] Long live my lord the rightfull King of Scots.  
 Balioll. Welcome Versses, what newes from England,  
 Like to the measure of Scotlands King?  
 Versses. Versses my Lord in tearmes like to himselfe,  
 Like to the messenger of Scottish King,  
 Defied the Peares of England and their lords,  
 That all his Barons trembled at my threats, [I2]  
 2050 And Longshankes himselfe as daunted and amased,  
 Gazde on my face not witting what to say:  
 Till rouzing up he shakte his threatening haire,  
 Versses quoth he take thou King Edwards chaine,  
 Uppon condicion, thou a message doe,  
 To Balioll false, perjurde Balioll.  
 For in these tearmes he bad me greete your Grace,

- 2031 *common*] C Dyce + B; commons Qq  
 2033 Qq print as part of preceding line  
 2036 *remunerate*] renumerate Qq  
 2042 *comes,*] Q2; comes Q1  
 2043 *Versses.*] Qq omit  
 2044 *England,*] England? Qq  
 2049 *trembled*] trembles Qq  
 2050 *daunted*] Q2; dainted Q1  
 2052 *threatning*] Q1; threatning Q2

And gave this halter to your excellence,  
I tooke the chaine and give your Grace the rope.

*Balioll.* You tooke the chaine and give my Grace the rope,

2060 Lay hold on him, why miscreat recreant,  
And darst thou bring a halter to thy King?  
But I will quite thy paine, and in that chaine,  
Uppon a silver Gallows shalt thou hang,  
That honored with a golden rope of England,  
And a silver Gibbet of Scotland, thou maist  
Hang in the aire for fowles to feede uppon,  
And men to wonder at, awaie with him away.

[SCENE 14]

*After the sight of John Balioll is done, enter Mortimor  
pursuing of the Rebels.*

*Mort.* Strike up that drum, follow, pursue and chase,  
Follow, pursue, spare not the proudest he,  
2070 That havocks Englands sacred roialty.

*Exit Mortimor.*

*Then make the proclamation upon the walles. Sound  
Trumpets.*

[SCENE 15]

*Enter Queene alone.*

[Queene.] Now fits the time to purge our melancholly,  
And bee revenged uppon this London Dame.  
Katherina.

*Enter Katherina.*

2057 *excellence*] C Dyce + B; excellences Qq

2058 *give*] Q2; gave Q1

2065 *thou maist*] Qq print as part of following line.

2070 SD *Mortimor*] *Morti.* Qq

2071 *Q. Eli.*] Q1 omits

2071-72 Lineation follows Q2; prose in Q1

2073 SD *Enter Katherina*] Qq print at beginning of following speech  
without separate ascription.

[*Kath.*] At hand Madam.

*Queene.* Bring forth our London Maris here.

[12<sup>v</sup>]

*Kath.* I will Madam.

*Queene.* Now Nell

Bethinke thee of some tortures for the Dame:

And purge thy choller to the uttermost,

*Enter Maris and Katherine.*

2080 *Now mistres Maris you have attendance urgde,*

*And therefore to requite your curtesie,*

*Our minde is to bestow an office on you straight.*

*Maris.* My selfe, my life, and service mighty Queen,

*Are humblie at your Majesties commaund.*

*Queene.* Then mistres Maris saie whether will you be

*Our Nurse or Landeres.*

*Maris.* Then maie it please your Majestie,

*To entertaine your handmaide for your Nurse,*

*Shee will attende the craddle carefully.*

2090 *Queene.* O no Nurse, the Babe needes no great rockeing,

*It can lull it selfe,*

*Katherina binde her in the chaire,*

*And let me see how sheele become a Nurse,*

*So now Katherin draw forth her brest*

*And let the Serpent sucke his fil, why so*

*Now shee is a Nurse, sucke on sweet Babe.*

*Maris.* Ah *Queene* sweete *Queene*, seeke not my bloud to  
spill:

*For I shal die before this Adder have his fil.*

*Queene.* Die or die not, my minde is fullie pleased,

2100 *Come Katherina to London now wil we,*

*And leave our Maris with her nurserie.*

*Kath.* Farewel sweete Maris, looke unto the Babe.

*Exeunt Queene and Katherine.*

*Maris.* Farewel proud Queen the Autor of my death,

2077-78 One line in Qq

2083-96 Prose in Qq

2102 *Maris,*] Q2; Maris Q1

SD *Katherina*] *Kath.* Q1; *Kather.* Q2

The scourge of England and to English dames:  
Ah husband sweete John Bearmber Maior of London,  
Ah didst thou know how Mary is perplext,  
Soone wouldst thou come to Wales and rid me of this paine.  
But oh I die, my wishe is al in vaine.

*Here shee dies.*

[SCENE 16]

*Enter Lluellen running out before, and David with  
a halter ready to hang himselfe.* [I3]

*Lluel.* The angry Heavens frowne on Brittain's face  
2110 To Eclipse the glorie of faire Cambria,  
With sore aspectes the dreadful Planets lowre,  
Lluellen basely turne thy backe and flie,  
No Welshmen fight it to the last and die.  
For if my men safely have got the Bridge,  
Careles of chance, ile recke no sowre event,  
Englands broad wombe hath not that armed band,  
That can expel Lluellen from his land.

*Enter David.*

[*David.*] Flie Lord of Cambria, flie Prince of Wales,  
Sweete brother flie, the field is wonne and lost,  
2120 Thou art beset with Englands furious troupes,  
And cursed Mortimor like a Lion leades,  
Our men have got the Bridge but al in vaine:  
The English men are come uppon our backes,  
Either flee or die for Edward hath the day:  
For me I have my rescue in my hand,

2108 SD *Here shee dies*] Q1 prints at end of l. 2107  
2109 *frowne*] C Dyce 3; frownd Qq  
2111 *sore*] C Dyce+; soror Q1; sofar Q2; sour B  
2114 *Bridge*] Bride Qq  
2118 *David.*] Qq omit  
2119 *flie,*] Q2; flie Q1  
2122 *Bridge*] Bride Qq

England on me no torments shal inflict,  
Farewell Lluellen while wee meete in Heaven.

*Exit David. Enter Souldiers.*

[*Souldier.*] Follow, pursue: lie there what ere thou be,

*Lluellen is slaine with a Pike staffe.*

Yet soft my hearts let us his countenance see,  
2130 This is the Prince, I know him by his face,  
O gracious fortune that me happie made,  
To spoile the weede that chokes faire Cambria,  
Hale him from hence and in this buskie wood,  
Bury his corps, but for his head I vowed,  
I will present our governour with the same.

*Exeunt omnes.*

[SCENE 17]

*Enter the Frier with a halter about his necke.* [I3<sup>v</sup>]

*Friar.* Come my gentle Richard my trew servant that in some  
stormes have stood thy maister, hang thee I praie thee least  
I hang for thee, and downe on thy mary bones like a foolish  
fellow, that have gone farre astray and aske forgiveness of  
2140 God and king Edward for playing the rachell and the Rebel  
here in Wales, ah gentle Richard many a whot breakefast  
have wee beene at together, and now since, like one of  
Mars his frozen knights, I must hang up my weapon uppon  
this tree and come *per misericordiam* to the madde Potter

2128 *Souldier.*] Qq omit      *Follow,*] Q2; Follow Q1      SD *staffe.*]  
*staffe:* Qq

2129 *countenance*] Q2; coutenance Q1

2130 *Prince,*] Q2; Prince Q1

2136 *trew servant*] Dyce 3 B; trew master servant Qq

2137 *thy*] my Qq

2140 *playing the*] Q2; playingt he Q1

2143 *knights,*] Q2; knights Q1

Mortimor, wring thy handes Frier and sing a pittiful fare-  
well to thy pikestaffe at parting.

*The Frier having song his farewell to his Pikestaffe a  
takes his leave of Cambria, and Exit the Frier.*

*Enter Mortimor with his souldiers, and Elinor.*

2150 *Mort.* Binde fast the Traitor and bring him awaie, that the  
law maie justly passe uppon him and receave the reward of  
monstruous treasons and villanye, staine to the name and  
honor of his noble countrey, for you that slew Lluellen and  
presented us with his heade, the King shall reward your for-  
tune and chivalry. Sweet Ladie abate not thy lookes so  
heavenlie to the earth, God and the King of England hath  
honor for thee in store, and Mortimors heart at service and  
at thy commaundement.

*Elinor.* Thankes gentle Lord, but alas who can blame Elinor  
to accuse her starres, that in one howre hath loste honor and  
contentment.

2160 *Mort.* And in one howr may your Ladishippe recover both,  
if you vouchsafe to be advised by your friendes, but what  
makes the Frier here upon his mary bones?

*Friar.* O Potter Potter the Frier doth sue, [I4]  
Now his olde maister is slaine and gone to have a new.

*Elinor.* Ah sweet Lluellen how thy death I rue.

2170 *Mort.* Well saide Frier, better once then never, give me thy  
hand, my cunning shall faile me but we will be fellowes yet,  
and now Robin Hood is gone, it shall cost me whot water  
but thou shalt be King Edwards man, only I enjoyne thee  
this, come not too neare the fier but good Frier be at my  
hand.

*Friar.* O sirre no sirre, not so sirre, a was warned too latelie,  
none of that flesh I love.

2160 to] Q2; ro Q1  
2163 a new] Q2; anew Q1  
2165 Friar,] Q2; Frier Q1  
2169 the fier] C Dyce + B; the Frier Q1; her Friar Q2  
2171 sirre,] Q2; sirre Q1 latelie,] latelie Q1; latelie; Q2

*Mort.* Come on, and for those that have made their submission, and given their names in the Kinges name, I pronounce their pardones, and so God save King Edward.

*Exeunt ambo from Wales.*

[SCENE 18]

*Heres thunder and lightning when the Queen comes in.  
Enter Queene Elinor and Jone.*

*Q. Eli.* Whie Jone,  
Is this the welcome that the clouds affordes,  
How dare these disturbe our thoughts, knowing  
That I am Edwardes wife and Englands Queen  
2180 Here thus on Charing greene to threaten me?

*Jone.* Ah mother blaspheme not so,  
Your blaspheming and other wicked deeds  
Hath caused our God to terrifie your thoughts,  
And call to minde your sinfull fact committed  
Against the Maris here of lovely London,  
And better Maris London never bread,  
So full of ruth and pittie to the poore,  
Her have you made awaie, that London cries  
For vengeance on your head.

*Queene.* I rid her not,  
2190 I made her not awaie, by heaven I sweare,  
Traitors they are to Edward and to Englandes Queene  
That saie I made awaie the Maris.

*Jone.* Take heede sweet Lady mother, sweare not so,  
A field of prise corne wil not stop their mouths,  
That said you have made awaie that vertuous woman.

*Queene.* Gape earth and swallow me, and let my soule [I4<sup>v</sup>]  
Sincke downe to Hell if I were Autor of

2175 *King*] Q2; K. Q1

2176-2207 Prose in Qq

2193 *mother,*] Q2; mother Q1

2195 *said*] Qq; say Dyce 3 B

That womans Tragedy, Oh Jone, helpe Jone  
Thy mother sinckes.

2200 *Jone.* Oh mother my helpe is nothing, oh she is suncke,  
And here the earth is new closde up againe,  
Ah Charinge greene for ever change thy hew,  
And never may the gras grow greene againe  
But wither and returne to stones, because  
That beauteous Elinor suncke on thee, wel I  
Will send unto the king my fathers Grace,  
And satisfie him of this strange mishap.

*Exit Jone.*

[SCENE 19]

*Alarum, a charge, after long skirmishe, assault, florishe.*  
*Enter King Edward with his traine and Balioll prisoner.*  
*Edward speaketh.*

*Edward.* Now trothles King what fruites have braving  
boastes,

What end hath Treason but a soddaine fall?

2210 Such as have knowne thy life and bringing up,  
Have praised thee for thy learning and thy art,  
How comes it then that thou forgetst thy bookes,  
That schoold thee to forget ingratitude?  
Unkinde, this hand hath noynted thee a king,  
This tongue pronounst the sentence of thy ruth,  
If thou in lue of mine unfained love,  
Hast levied armes for to attempt my crowne,  
Now see thy fruites, thy gloryes are dispearst,  
And heifer like sith thou hast past thy bounds,

2198 *womans*] *womens* Qq

2205 *suncke*] C Dyce + B; *sincke* Qq

2207 SD *Alarum . . . florishe.*] *Alarum a charge after long skirmishe*  
*assault florishe.* Q1; *Alarum, a charge after long skirmish, assault florish.*

Q2 *prisoner.*] Q2; *prisoner* Q1

2213 *ingratitude?*] Q2; *ingratitude,* Q1

2219 *heifer like*] Dyce 3 B; *his, for like* Qq; *traitor-like* C Dyce 2

- 2220 Thy sturdie necke must stoope to beare this yoke.  
*Balioll.* I tooke this lesson Edward from my booke,  
 To keepe a just equality of minde,  
 Content with every fortune as it comes,  
 So canst thou threat no more then I expect.  
*Edward.* So sir your moderation is enforst,  
 Your goodly gloses cannot make it good.  
*Balioll.* Then will I keepe in silence what I meane,  
 Since Edward thinkes my meaning is not good. [K1]  
*Edmund.* Naie Balioll speake forth, if there yet remain,  
 2230 A little remnant of perswading Art.  
*Balioll.* If cunning have power to win the king,  
 Let those imploy it that can flatter him.  
 If honored deede may reconcile the King,  
 It lies in me to give and him to take.  
*Edward.* Why what remains for Balioll now to give?  
*Balioll.* Alegeance as becomes a roiall king.  
*Edward.* What league of faith where league is broken once?  
*Balioll.* The greater hope in them that once have falne.  
*Edward.* But foolishe are those Monarches that doe yeelde  
 2240 A conquered Realme uppon submissive vowes.  
*Balioll.* There take my crowne and so redeme my life.  
*Edward.* I sir, that was the choisest plea of both,  
 For who so quels the pomp of haughtie mindes,  
 And breakes their staffe, whereon they build their trust,  
 Is sure in wanting power they carrie not harme.  
 Balioll shall live, but yet within such bounds,  
 That if his wings grow flig, they may be clipt.

[*Exeunt.*]

- 2231 *cunning have*] Qq; cunning may have Dyce 3 B  
 2242 *sir,*] Q2; sir Q1  
 2243 *mindes,*] Q2; windes. Q1  
 2247 *flig*] Q2; flig Q1 SD *Exeunt*] Qq omit

## [SCENE 20]

*Enter the Potter and the Potters wife, [at a place] called the Potters hive dwelling there, and John her man.*

*Potters wife.* John come awaie, you goe as though you slept,  
a great knave and be afraide of a little thundering and light-  
ning.

*John.* Call you this a little thundering, I am sure my breeches  
findes it a great deale, for I am sure they are stufte with  
thunder.

*Potters wife.* They are stufte with a foole, are they not? will  
it please you to carrie the lantern a little handsommer, and  
not to carrie it with your handes in your slops.

*John.* Slops quoth you, woulde I had taried at home [K1<sup>v</sup>]  
by the fire, and then I should not have neede to put my  
hands in my pockets, but ile laie my life I know the reason  
of this fowle weather.

*Potters wife.* Doe you know the reason? I praie thee John,  
tel me and let me heare this reason.

*John.* I laie my life some of your Gossipse be cros legd that  
we came from, but you are wise mistres for you com now  
awaie and will not staie agossiping in a drie house all night.

*Potters wife.* Would it please you to walke and leave of your  
knaverie, but staie John, whats that riseth out of the ground?  
Jesus blesse us John, look how it riseth higher and higher.

*John.* By my troth mistres, tis a woman, good Lord do  
women grow, I never saw none grow before.

*Potters wife.* Hold thy tongue, thou foolish knave, it is the  
spirite of some woman.

*Queene.* Ha let me see, where am I, on Charing green? I on

2247 SD *at a place*] Qq omit

2254 *not?*] Q2; not, Q1

2261 *John,*] John Qq

2263 *be cros*] be crosse Q2; becros Q1

2267 *ground?*] Q2; ground, Q1

2269 *By*] Q2; Be Q1 *mistres,*] mistres Qq

2271 *tongue,*] tongue Qq

2273 *see,*] Q2; see Q1 *green?*] Q2; green, Q1

Charing greene here hard by Westminster, where I was crowned and Edward there made King, I tis true so it is, and therefore Edward kisse not me unlesse you will straight perfume your lips Edward.

2280 *Potters wife.* *Ora pro nobis*, John, I praie fall to your prayers, for my life it is the Queene that chafes thus, who suncke this daie on Charing greene, and now is risen up on Potters Hive, and therefore trulie John ile goe to her.

*Here let the Potters wife goe to the Queen.*

*Queene.* Welcome good woman, what place is this, sea or land, I pray shew to me.

*Potters wife.* Your Grace neede not to feare, you are on firme ground, it is the Potters Hive, and therefore cheare your Majestie for I wil see you safe conducted to the Court, if case your highnes be therewithall pleased.

*Make a noise, Westward how.*

2290 *Queene.* I good woman conduct me to the court, [K2]  
That there I maie bewaile my sinfull life,  
And call to God to save my wretched soule,  
Woman what noise is this I hear?

*Potters wife.* And like your Grace it is the Watermen that cals for passengers to goe Westward now.

*Queene.* That fits my turne, for I will straight with them  
To Kinges towne to the Court,  
And there repose me till the king come home:  
And therefore sweete woman conceale what thou hast  
scene,  
And leade mee to those Watermen,  
For here doth Elinor droupe.

2300 *John.* Come come, heres a goodly leading of you, is ther not,

2278 *nobis,*] *nobis* Qq

2283 *land,*] *land* Q1; *land?* Q2

2284 *feare,*] Q2; *feare* Q1

2285 *therefore*] Q2; *therfoere* Q1

2288-91 Prose in Qq

2294-99 Prose in Qq

2300 *come,*] Q2; *come* Q1      *you,*] Q2; *you* Q1

first you must make us afeard, and now I must bee troubled in carrying of you, I would you were honestly laid in your bed so that I were not troubled with you.

*Exeunt ambo.*

[SCENE 2 I]

*Enter two messengers, the one that David shall be hangd, the other of the Queenes sincking.*

1. *Messenger.* Honor and Fortune waite uppon the Crowne Of Princelie Edward Englands valiant king.

*Edward.* Thanks Messenger, and if my God vouchsafe That winged Honor waite uppon my throne,  
Ile make her spred her plumes uppon their heads,  
Whose true allegiance doth confirme the Crowne,  
2310 What news in Wales, how wends our busines there?

2. *Messenger.* The false disturber of that wasted soile,  
With his adherents is surprised my King:  
And in assurance he shall start no more,  
Breathles he lies and headles to my Lordes,  
The circumstance these lines shal here unfold.

*Edward.* A harmfull weede by wisdomed rooted out,  
Can never hurt the true ingrafted plant,  
But whats the newes Sir Thomas Spencer bringes?

*Spencer.* Wonders my Lord, wrapt up in homely words,  
2320 And Letters to infourme your Majestie.

*Edward.* O Heavens, what maie these miracles portend?  
Nobles my Queene is sicke but what is more, [K2<sup>v</sup>]  
Reed brother Edmund reede a wondrous chance.

*Edmund reedes a line of the Queens sincking.*

*Edmund.* And I nor heard nor red so strange a thing.

*Edward.* Sweete Queene this sincking is a surfet tane

2303 SD hangd,] Q2; hangd Q1

2310 Wales,] Q2; Wales Q1

2324 nor heard] not heard Qq

Of pride, wherewith thy womans heart did swell,  
 A dangerous maladie in the heart to dwell.  
 Lords march we towards London now in hast,  
 I will goe see my lovelie Elinor,  
 2330 And comfort her after this strange affright,  
 And where she is importune to have talke,  
 And secret conference with some Friers of France,  
*Mun* thou with me and I with thee will goe,  
 And take the swete confession of my Nell,  
 We will have French enough to parlee with the Queen.

*Edmund.* Might I advise your royall majestie,  
 I would not goe for millions of golde:  
 What knowes your grace disguised if you wend,  
 What you may heare in secrecy revealde,  
 2340 That maie appal and discontent your highnes?  
 A goodly creature is your Elinor,  
 Brought up in nicenesse and in delicacie,  
 Then listen not to her confession Lord,  
 To wound thy heart with some unkinde conceite,  
 But as for Lancaster he maie not goe.

*K. Edward.* Brother I am resolvde and goe I will,  
 If God give life, and cheare my dying Queene,  
 Why *Mun*, why man, what ere King Edward heares,  
 It lies in God and him to pardon all.

2350 Ile have no ghostlie Fathers out of France,  
 England hath learned Clarkes and Confessors,  
 To comfort and absolve as men may doe,  
 And ile be ghostlie Father for this once.

*Edmund.* Edmund thou maist not goe although thou die.  
 And yet how maist thou here thy King denie? [K3]  
 Edward is gracious, merciful, meeke and milde,  
 But furious when he findes he is beguilde.

*Edward.* Messenger hie thee backe to Shrewsbury,  
 Bid Mortimor thy maister speede him fast,

2339 *revealde,*] revealde? Qq

2340 *appal*] Dyce + B; appeale Qq      *highnes?*] highnes, Q1; high-  
 nes: Q2

2360 And with his fortune welcome us to London,  
I long to see my beauteous lovelie Queene.

*Exeunt omnes.*

[SCENE 22]

*Enter David drawne on a burdle with Mortimor and officers accompanied with the Frier, the Novice, the Harper, and Lluellens head on a speare.*

*Friar.* On afore, on afore.

*Novice.* Hold up your torches for dropping.

*Friar.* A faire procession, Sir David be of good chear, you cannot goe out of the waie having so manie guides at hand.

*Novice.* Be sure of that, for we goe all the highway to the Gallowes I warrant you.

*David.* I goe where my starre leads me, and die in my countreis just cause and quarrell.

2370 *Harper.* The Starre that twinckled at thy birth,  
Good brother mine hath mard thy mirth,  
An olde saide saw Earth must to earth,  
Next yeare will be a pitteous dearth,  
Of Hempe I dare laie a pennie:  
This yeare is hangde so many.

*Friar.* Well saide Morgan Pigot, Harper and Prophet for the Kinges owne mouth.

*Novice.* *Tum date dite dote dum,*  
This is the daie, the time is come,  
2380 Morgan Pigots prophecie

2361 SD *accompanied*] Q2; *accompanied*, Q1 *Harper,*] Q2; *Harper.* Q1

2364 *cheer,*] Q2; *cheer* Q1

2376 *Pigot, Harper*] *Pigot Harper*, Qq

2377 *owne*] Q2; *one* Q1

2378 *Tum . . . dum*] *Tunda tedi tedo dote dum* Qq

2378-81 Prose in Qq

2379 *daie,*] Q2; *daie* Q1 *come,*] Q2; *come* Q1

And Lord Lluellens Tragedie.

*Friar.* Who saith the Prophet is an Asse,

Whose prophecies come so to passe:

Said he not oft and sung it to,

Lluellen after much adoe,

Should in spite heave up his chin,

And be the highest of his kinne:

[K<sub>3</sub><sup>v</sup>]

And see aloft Lluellens head,

Empalled with a crowne of lead:

2390 *My Lord let not this South-saire lacke,*

That hath such cunning in his jacke.

*Harper.* David holde still your clacke,

Least your heeles make your necke cracke.

*Friar.* Gentle Prophet, and yee love me, forspeake me not,

tis the worst lucke in the world to sturre a witche or anger

a wise man, maister Shiriffe have wee anie hast, best give my

horses some more haie.

*Exeunt omnes.*

[SCENE 23]

*Elinor in child-bed with her daughter Jone, and other Ladies.*

*Q. Eli.* Cal forth those renowmed Friers come from France,

And raise me gentle Ladies in my bed,

2400 *That while this faultring engine of my speach,*

I learne to utter my concealed guilt,

I maie repeat and so repent my sinnes.

*Jone.* What plague afflicts your roiall Majestie?

*Q. Eli.* Ah Jone I perish through a double warre,

2382-83 Lineation follows Q<sub>2</sub>; one line in Q<sub>1</sub>

2384-85 One line in Q<sub>q</sub>

2386-87 One line in Q<sub>q</sub>

2394 *Prophet,*] Prophet Q<sub>q</sub> *me,*] Q<sub>2</sub>; me Q<sub>1</sub>

2401 *learne*] Dyce + B; leane Q<sub>q</sub>; leave C

2402 *repeat*] Dyce 3 B; respect Q<sub>q</sub>

2404 *warre*] C Dyce + B; warres Q<sub>q</sub>

First in this painfull prison of my soule,  
 A world of dreadfull sins holpe thee to fight,  
 And Nature having lost her working power,  
 Yeeldes up her earthlie Fortunes unto death.  
 Next over War my soule is over preast,  
 2410 In thee my Conscience loaden with misdeedes,  
 Sittes seeing my Conscience to ensue,  
 Without especiall favour from above.

*Jone.* Your Grace must account it a warriors crosse,  
 To make resist where daunger there is none,  
 Superdewe your Fever by precious Art,  
 And helpe you still through hope of heavenlie aide.

*Q. Eli.* The carelesse sheepe rule on the mountaines toppes,  
 That see the Sea-man floating on the swerge, [K4]  
 The threatning windes comes springing with the flouds  
 2420 To overwhelme and drowne his craised keele,  
 His tackes torne, his sailes borne over boarde.  
 How pale like Vallowe flowres the mountaine standes?  
 Uppon his hatches waiting for his jearke,  
 Wringing his hands that ought to plaie the pompe,  
 Maie blame his feare that laboreth not for life.  
 So thou poore soule maie tell a servile tale,  
 Maie counsell me, but I that proove the paine,  
 Maie heare thee talke, but not redresse my harme,  
 But ghastlie death alreadie is addrest,  
 2430 To gleane the latest blossome of my life,  
 My spirite failes me, are these Friers come?

*Enter the King and his brother in Friers weede.*

*King.* *Dominus vobiscum.*

*Edmund.* *Et cum spiritu tuo.*

*Q. Eli.* Draw neare grave Fathers, and approche my bed:  
 Forbeare our presence Ladies for a while,  
 And leave us to our secret conference.

*King.* What cause hath moved your roiall Majestie,

2417 *sheepe rule*] sleepe rule Qq; shepherds C Dyce + B

2427 *the*] C Dyce + B; thy Qq

To call your servaunts from their countreis bounds,  
For to attend your pleasure here in Englands court?

2440 *Q. Eli.* See you not holie Friers mine estate,  
My bodie weake inclining to my grave.

*Edmund.* We see and sorrow for thy paine faire Queene

*Q. Eli.* By these externall signes of my defectes,  
Friers consecrate mine internall grieve,  
My soule, ah wretched soule within this brest,  
Fain for to mount the Heavens with wings of grace,  
Is hindred by flocking troupes of sinne,  
That stop my passage to my wished showres.

*King.* The nearer Elinor, so the greatest hope of health,  
2450 And daine to us for to impart your guilt,  
Who by our praier and counsaile ought to arme, [K4<sup>v</sup>]  
Aspiring soules to scale the heavenly grace.

*Q. Eli.* Shame and remorse doth stop my course of speach

*King.* Madam you need not dread our conference,  
Who by the order of the holy Church,  
Are all annoynted to sacred secrecie.

*Q. Eli.* Did I not thinke, naie were I not assured,  
Your wisdomes would be silent in that cause,  
No feare could make me to bewraie my selfe,  
2460 But gentle fathers I have thought it good,  
Not to relie uppon these Englishmen,  
But on your trothes, you holy men of Fraunce,  
Then as you love your life and Englands weale,  
Keepe secret my Confession from the king,  
For why my storie nearelie toucheth him,  
Whose love compared with my loose delights,  
With manie sorrowes that my heart affrights.

*Edmund.* My heart misgives.

2438 *bounds,*] Q2; bounds? Q1

2443 *these externall*] C Dyce + B; this eternall Qq

2444 *internall*] C Dyce + B; ininternall Qq

2446 *Fain*] Faint Qq; Faints C Dyce 2

2447 *Is hindred*] B; A hundred Qq; Through hundred C

2448 *showres*] howres Qq; bowers C Dyce + B

2450 *guilt,*] quiet. Qq; grief C Dyce + B

2466 *loose*] C Dyce + B; losse Qq

*King.* Be silent, fellow Frier.

*Q. Eli.* In pride of youth when I was yong and faire,

2470 And gracious in the king of Englands sight,  
The daie before that night his Highnes should,  
Possesse the pleasure of my wedlockes bed,  
Caitife accursed monster as I was,  
His brother Edmund beautifull and young,  
Uppon my bridall couch by my concent,  
Enjoied the flowre and favour of my love.

*The King beholdeth his brother wofully.*

And I becam a Traitresse to my Lord.

*King.* *Facinus scelus, infandum nefas.*

*Edmund.* Madam, through sickenes, weakenes, and your  
wittes,

2480 Twere verie good to bethinke your selfe before you speake.

*Q. Eli.* Good father not so weake but that I wot,

My heart doth rent to thinke upon the time,

But whie exclames this holie Frier so?

O praie then for my faults religious man.

[L1]

*King.* Tis charitie in men of my degree,

To sorrow for our neighbours hainous sinnes:

And Madam, though some promise love to you,

And zeale to Edmund brother to the King,

I praie the Heavens you both maie soone repent.

2490 But might it please your Highnes to proceede.

*Q. Eli.* Unto this sinne a worser doth succede.

For Jone of Acon the supposed child,

And daughter of my Lord the English King,

Is baselie borne begotten of a Frier,

2468 *fellow*] Q2; follow Q1

2476 *Enjoied*] Enjoies Qq

2478 *infandum*] *in fandum* Qq

2479-80 Prose in Qq

2482 *heart*] heat Q1; hart Q2

2490 *proceede.*] proceede, Qq

2491 Qq print as part of preceding speech.

2493 *King,*] Q2; King: Q1

2494 *Frier,*] Q2; Frier. Q1

Such time as I was their arrived in Fraunce,  
 His onelie true and lawfull sonne my frendes,  
 He is my hope, his sonne that should succeed,  
 Is Edward of Carnarvan latelie borne,  
 Now all the scruples of my troubled minde,  
 2500 I sighing sound within your reverent eares,  
 Oh praie for pittie, praie for I must die.  
 Remitte my God the follie of my youth,  
 My groaning spirites attends thy mercies seate,  
 Fathers farewell, commend me to my King,  
 Commend me to my children and my friends,  
 And close mine eies for death will have his due.

*Queene Elinor dies.*

*King.* Blushing I shut these thine inticing lampes,  
 The wanton baites that make me sucke my bane,  
 Piropes hardned flames did never reflect,  
 2510 More hidious flames then from my brest arise,  
 What fault more vilde unto thy dearest Lord?  
 Our daughter base begotten of a Priest,  
 And Ned my brother partner of my love,  
 Oh that those eies that lightned Cesars braine,  
 Oh that those lookes that mastered Phoebus brand,  
 Or else those lookes that staine Melisaes farre,  
 Should shrine discreet desire and lawles lust,  
 Unhappie King dishonored in thy stocke,  
 Hence faigned weedes, unfained is my grieve.

2520 *Edmund.* Dread Prince my brother if my vowes  
                   availe, [L<sup>r</sup>]

I call to witnes Heaven in my behalfe,  
 If zealous praier might drive you from suspect,  
 I bend my knees and humblie crave this boone,

2495 *arrived*] C Dyce + B; anued Qq

2497 *succeed*,] Q<sub>2</sub>; succeed. Q<sub>1</sub>

2503 *groaning*] groaned Qq; grieved Dyce 3 B

2506 SD Qq print after l. 2503

2509 *Piropes*] Pirpus Qq

2515 *Phoebus*] C Dyce + B; Phucebus Qq

That you will drive misdeedes out of your minde,  
 Maie never good betide my life my Lord,  
 If once I dreamde uppon this damned deede,  
 But my deceased sister and your Queene,  
 Afflicted with recurelesse maladies,  
 Impatient of her paine grew lunatick,  
 2530 Discovering errors never dreamde uppon,  
 To prove this true the greatest men of all,  
 Within their learned volumes doe discure,  
 That all extreames end in naught but extremes,  
 Then thinke oh King her agonie in death,  
 Bereaves her sence and memorie at once,  
 So that shee spoke shee knew nor how nor what.

*King.* Sir sir, fain would your highnes hide your faults,  
 By cunning vowes and glosing tearmes of Arte,  
 And well thou maist delude these listning eares,  
 2540 Yet never asswage by prooffe this jealous heart,  
 Traitor thy head shal raunsome my disgrace,  
 Daughter of darkenes, whose accursed bowre,  
 The Poet fained to lie uppon Avernus,  
 Whereas Cimerian darkenes checks the Sun,  
 Damde jealousie afflict me not so sore,  
 Faire Queene Elinor could never be so false,  
 I but shee vowed these treasons at her death,  
 A time not fitte to fashion monstrous lies,  
 Ah my ungratefull brother as thou art,  
 2550 Could not my love, naie more could not the law,  
 Naie further, could not nature thee allure,  
 For to refraine from this incestuous sinne,  
 Hast from my sight, call Jone of Acon here,

*Exit Edmund.*

2532 *discure*] discord Qq; record C Dyce + B

2533 *extremes end in naught*] Dyce 3 B; extreames, and al and in naught Q1; extreames, and all, and in naught Q2

2536 *nor how*] Q1; not how Q2

2543 *lie*] C Dyce + B; live Qq

2544 *Cimerian*] C Dyce + B; Cimerians Qq

2545 *Damde*] Davids Qq; Dread C Dyce + B

The luke-warme spring distilling from his eies,  
 His othes, his vowes, his reasons rested with remorse,  
 From forth his breast impoisoned with suspect, [L2]  
 Faine would I deeme that false I finde too true.

*Enter Jone of Acone.*

[*Jone.*] I come to know what Englands King commands,  
 I wonder why your Highnes greetes me thus,  
 2560 With strange regarde and unacquainted tearmes.

*King.* Ah Jone this wonder needes must wound thy brest,  
 For it hath well nigh slaine my wretched heart.

*Jone.* What is the Queen my soveraigne mother dead?  
 Woes me unhappie Ladie woe begonne.

*King.* The Queene is dead, yet Jone lament not thou,  
 Poore soule guiltles art thou of this deceite,  
 That hath more cause to curse then to complaine.

*Jone.* My dreadful soule assailed with dolefull speach,  
 Joynes me to bow my knees unto the ground,  
 2570 Beseeching your most roiall Majestie,  
 To rid your woefull daughter of suspect.

*King.* I daughter Jone, poore soule thou art deceived,  
 The King of England is no scorned Priest.

*Jone.* Was not the Ladie Elinor your spouse,  
 And am I not the ofspring of your loins?

*King.* I, but when Ladies liste to runne astraie,  
 The poore supposed father weares the horne,  
 And fleating leave their siege in Princes laps,  
 Jone thou art daughter to a lecherous Frier,  
 2580 A Frier was thy father haplesse Jone,  
 Thy mother in profession vowes no lesse,  
 And I vilde wretch which sorrowed hard no lesse.

2558 *Jone.*] Qq omit

2559 *thus,*] Q2; thus. Q1

2563 *dead?*] Q2; dead Q1

2564 *me*] Q2; in Q1      *woe*] Q2; we Q1

*begonne.*] *begonne?* Qq

2576 *I,*] I Qq

2578 *fleating*] *pleating* Qq      *siege*] *Liege* Qq

2582 *hard*] HL Q2; ard FO      *lesse.*] Q2; lesse, Q1

*Jone.* What am I then a Friers base borne brat?  
 Presumptuous wretch why preasse I fore my king,  
 How can I looke my husband in the face?  
 Why should I live since my renowne is lost?  
 Awaie thou wanton weede, hence worlds delight.

*Shee fals groveling on the ground.*

*L'orrecchie abbassa, come vinto e stanco,  
 Destrier c' ha in bocca il fren, gli sproni al fianco.*

2590 *King.* O sommo Dio, come i giudici umani, [L2<sup>v</sup>]  
*Spesso offuscati son da un nembo oscuro.*  
 Haplesse and wretched, lift up thy heavie head,  
 Curse not so much at this unhappie chance,  
 Unconstant Fortune still will have her course.

*Jone.* My King, my King, let Fortune have her course,  
 Flie thou my soule and take a better corse,  
 Aies me from roiall state I now am falne.  
 You purple springs that wander in my vaines,  
 And whilom wants to feede my heavie heart,  
 2600 Now all at once make hast and pittie me,  
 And stop your powers and change your native course,  
 Dissolve to aire your luke-warme blouddie streames,  
 And cease to be that I maie be no more,  
 Your curled lockes draw from this cursed head,  
 Abase her pompe, for Jone is baselie borne,  
 Ah Gloster thou poore Gloster hast the wrong.  
 Die wretch, haste death, for Jone hath lived too long.

*Shee sodainly dies at the Queenes beds feete.*

*King.* Revive thee haples Ladie greeve not thus,  
 In vaine speake I for shee revives no more,

2588-91 Q1: *Porce ine abbassa come vint o et stanco, / Defluer chain  
 bocea il fren gli sproni al fianco. / King. O sommo Dio come i guidneo  
 humans, / Spesse offuscan son danu membo oscunro,*

2593 *Curse]* C Dyce + B; Nurse Qq *at]* C Dyce + B; as Qq

2595 *course,]* Q2; course Q1

2607 *haste]* C Dyce + B; hate Qq SD Qq print after l. 2606

2610 Poore haplesse soule thy owne repeated mones,  
Hath wrought her soddaine and untimelie death.

*Enter Edmund, Gloster, running with Ladies and con-  
vaies Jone of Acon awaie.*

Lords, Ladies hast, ah Gloster art thou come,  
Then must I now present a Tragedie,  
Thy Jone is dead, yet grieve thou not her fall,  
Shee was too base a spouse for such a Prince.

*Gloster.* Conspire you then with Heavens to work my  
harmes?

O sweete asswager of our mortall misse,  
Desired death deprive me of my life,  
That I in death maie end my life and love.

2620 *King.* Gloster thy King is partner of thy heavines,  
Although nor tongue nor eies bewraie his moane,  
For I have lost a flowre as faire as thine,  
A love more deare, for Elinor is dead, [L3]  
But since the heavenlie ordinance decrees,  
That all thinges change in their prefixed time,  
Be thou content and beare it in thy breast,  
Thy swelling griefe as needes I must mine,  
Thy Jone of Acon and my Queene deceast,  
Shall have that Honor as beseemes their state.

2630 You peeres of England, see in roiall pompe,  
These breathles bodies be entombed straight,  
With tried colours covered all with blacke,  
Let Spanish steedes as swift as fleeting winde,  
Convaie these Princes to their funerall,  
Before them let a hundred mourners ride,  
In everie time of their enforste aboade,  
Reare up a crosse in token of their worke,  
Whereon faire Elinors picture shall be plaste,  
Arrived at London neare our Pallas bounds,

2610 *repeated*] C Dyce+; espected Qq

2617 *asswager*] C Dyce + B; asswagers Qq *mortall*] Dyce + B;  
martiall Qq

2621 *moane*] meane Qq

2640 Interre my lovelie Elinor late deceast,  
 And in remembraunce of her roialtie,  
 Erect a rich and statelie carved Crosse,  
 Whereon her stature shall with glorie shine,  
 And hence forth see you call it Charing crosse,  
 For why the chariest and the choiest Queene,  
 That ever did delight my roiall eies,  
 Their dwells in darkenes whilst I die in grieve,  
 But soft, what tidings with these Purcivants?

*Enter Messenger approaching from Mortimor.*

*Messenger.* Sir Roger Mortimor with all Sussex  
 2650 As earste your Grace by message did commaund,  
 Is here at hande in purpose to present  
 Your Highnes with his signes of victorie,  
 And trothles Balioll their accursed King,  
 With fire and sword doth threat Northumberland.

*King.* How one affliction cals another over.  
 First death torments me, then I feele disgrace,  
 Againe Lluellen he rebels in Wales,  
 And false Balioll meanes to brave me to,  
 But I will finde provision for them all,  
 2660 My constancie shall conquer death and shame, [L3<sup>v</sup>]  
 And Mortimor tis thou must hast to wales,  
 And rouse that Rebel from his starting holes,  
 And rid thy King of his contentious foe,  
 Whilst I with Elinor, Gloster, and the rest,  
 With speedie journey gather up our force,  
 And beat these braving Scots from out our bounds,  
 Courage brave Souldiers fates hath done their worst,  
 Now Vertue let me triumphe in thine aide.

*Exite Edward. Gloster solus.*

*Gloster.* Now Jone of Acon let me mourne thy fal,

2645 *chariest*] Dyce + B; chancest Qq; chastest C

2647 *dwells*] C Dyce + B; dwell Qq

2648 *SD approaching*] *approch* Qq

2649-54 Prose in Qq

2670 Sole here alone now set thee downe and sigh,  
 Sigh haples Gloster for thy sodaine losse,  
 Pale death alas hath bannished all thy pride,  
 Thy wedlocke vowes how ought have I beheld?

*Enter Mortimor with the head.*

Thy eies thy lookes thy lippes and everie part,  
 How nature strove in them to shew her Art,  
 In shine, in shape, in colour and compare,  
 But now hath death the enemy of love,  
 Staind and deformed, the shine, the shape, the reede,  
 With pale and dimnes, and my love is dead.  
 2680 Ah dead my love, vile wretch whie am I living?  
 So willeth fates, and I must be contented,  
 All pompe in time must fade and grow to nothing,  
 Wept I like Niobe, yet it profits nothing,  
 Then cease my sighs since I maie not regaine her,  
 And woe to wretched death that thus hath slaine her.

*Exit Gloster.*

*Yours. By George Peele Maister of Artes in Oxenford.*  
*Finis.*

2675 *strove*] C Dyce + B; store Qq      *her*] C Dyce + B; their Qq  
 2680 *whie*] Q1; while Q2  
 2683 *Niobe*] Nobe Qq

# EXPLANATORY NOTES

Title page *Queenebith*] A landing place for ships bearing grain. It was located just down the river from Paul's Wharf, and adjoining it on the west side was the Salt Wharf. In 30 Henry III the farm of the Queenhithe was granted to the Lord Mayor and citizens of London, under whose jurisdiction it was still operated in Peele's time. In the sixteenth century mills on barges were located there. The ward in which the hithe was located was also called Queenhithe. "Hithe" (< OE "hyð," port, landing place) is now obsolete except in a few place names (e.g., Lambeth, Lamb hithe).

SD *Earle of Sussex*] It is a little strange that Peele settled upon this title for one of Edward's chief courtiers. His historical counterpart, John de Warren, Earl of Surrey and of Sussex, appears frequently in the chronicles, most memorably for his dramatic opposition to the King's attempt to put into execution the statute of "quo warranto" in 1280 (Holinshed, p. 280); his chief distinction was perhaps his appointment as warden of Scotland in 1296 (Holinshed, p. 301; Grafton, p. 179). He is occasionally referred to as Earl Warren and frequently as the Earl of Surrey, but nowhere as only the Earl of Sussex. For discussion of Mortimer, Earl of March, see above, p. 6.

1 *Lord Lieutenant*] On his deathbed Henry III had appointed a regency under Gloucester to rule the realm until Edward's return from the Holy Land.

5 *poore remainer*] Cf. *Battle of Alcazar*, below, l. 861.

8 *are*] Cf. l. 85, where it is again necessary to emend *and* to *are*, and 2 *Henry IV*, l. 3.71, where F "are" corrects Q "and."

12 *roiallized thy fame*] Cf. Peele's *An Eclogue Gratulatory*, l. 131.

17 *stubborne*] Ruthless, fierce. Cf. *Merchant of Venice*, IV.1.32: "stubborn Turks."

18 *Meridian signes*] The signs of the zodiac which govern the meridional, or southern, regions.

19 *stage*] B emends to "plage," citing 2 *Tamburlaine*, I.1.68: "From Scythia to the oriental plage / Of India" and 1 *Tamburlaine*, IV.4.125: "As far as from the frozen place of heaven," which Dyce emends to

- "plage of heaven." But Peele is referring to the septentrional signs, which govern the frigid zones, as contrasted with the meridional signs of the line preceding. *His* apparently refers without expressed antecedent to the sun. Although the figure may not be precise, the poet's point is clear: England has made her power felt from the tropics to the polar zone.
- 23 *their*] C and Dyce unnecessarily emend to "her"; B is no doubt correct in pointing out that the antecedent is *mightie Conquerours* (l. 21). *jealious*] Suspicious, fearful.
- 24 See above, p. 2, for discussion of the leagues.
- 30 *Veering before the winde*] Cf. Peele's *Polyhymnia*, l. 42. *plowing the sea*] Cf. "longa tibi exsilia, et vastum maris aequor arandum" (*Aeneid* 2.780; see also 3.495); Peele, *A Farewell*, l. 2, and *Honour of the Garter*, l. 13.
- 38 *Phoebus eyes*] Cf. below, l. 263; *A Farewell*, l. 28; *Polyhymnia*, l. 133.
- 40 SD Even with the emendation *Leicester*, the stage direction is confusing. There is no Charles de Moumfort either elsewhere in this play or in the historical accounts. One would suppose that Daniel was correct in noting that the direction should call for the entrance of Elinor and her brother Emerick (see ll. 591-594); but even so, their presence is not strictly necessary, since it is nowhere explained, nor are they mentioned in this scene. Since interpolation of the material based on the ballad sources necessitated some revision in this scene, the direction may have been clear in the original version (see above, p. 32).
- 41 *Edmund*] Dyce 3 appends this note: "Can this be right? Why should she here exclaim 'Glocester'? (Her 'sweet sons' are Edward and Lancaster.)" Obviously the line calls for emendation, though the error is probably a slip by the author. *Edmund*, rather than Lancaster, is adopted because it has the same syllabic stress as Gloucester and because the Queen Mother addresses her other son by name, rather than by title.
- 41 SD *sounds*] I.e., swoons.
- 44 *Patient*] Although today we would say "patience," the verbal use of "patient" is found in the sixteenth century. See *OED*, and *Titus Andronicus*, I.I.121: "Patient yourself, madam, and pardon me."
- 45 *Receiv'd*] Probably an error, but Dyce's emendation to "ravish'd" hardly gives a satisfactory reading, and it is difficult to see how the two words could have been confused. B suggests "revived." "Renewed" is perhaps the closest graphic equivalent.
- 56 *Unckle*] Richard, Earl of Cornwall, younger brother to Henry III, became King of the Romans in 1257; he died in 1271, while Edward was still in the Holy Land. On the death of Edward's son see above, p. 11.
- 80 *Crowne Murall, Navall*] The insignia of honor gained in military or naval action.

82 *wolves*] Dyce 3 follows Mitford's proposal that the line be changed to make the passage read:

At view of whom the Turks have trembling fled  
Like sheep before the wolves, and Saracens  
Have made their cottages in walled towns.

This makes better sense than Q, but there is no clear indication that Q, except for the emended *walles*, is in error. *Walles* for *wolves* is not a surprising misreading, and the compositor may have been led astray by *walled* in the next line.

83 *in walled*] The Q<sub>2</sub> *inwalled* many well be correct; in that case, the sense would be that the Saracens fortified their cottages to make them like enwalled towns.

84 *fence*] I.e., defense.

85 *are*] See note to l. 8.

90 *collar . . . spurs*] Ornamental insignia marking the orders of knight-hood.

91-92 Cf. *Edward II*, I.1.173-174:

As Caesar riding in the Roman street,  
With captive kings at his triumphant car.

106 *Aimes of the Vies*] No such person appears in the sources, but the name may have been invented from the reference that in 1281 Edward "kept his Easter at the Vies" (Holinshed, p. 281).

108 *Matreveirs*] Sir John Matrevers does not appear in the chronicles until the reign of Edward II (Holinshed, p. 341; Grafton, p. 217); he is called Matrevis in *Edward II*, V.2. There is a reference to a town named Llan matrever during the time of Edward I (Grafton, p. 165).

109 *point of warre*] A short musical phrase sounded as a signal.

117 ff. See above, pp. 4, 31.

136 *pounds*] Dyce queries "pounds of gold," as in l. 126.

141 *regarde*] We should perhaps read "reward," taking *regarde* as an error caught from l. 139, but Peele is too fond of repetition to make that alone a cause of emendation. Dyce, agreeing that the word is an erroneous repetition, says that "reward" is impossible after *remunerate*. Either word, since in this instance they have approximately the same meaning, is redundant after *remunerate*, but objection on that score seems hardly sound.

147-163 It is generally recognized that distinguishing between prose and verse in Elizabethan dramatic texts is not always easy. Peele's blank verse is frequently irregular with many lines of abnormal length (e.g., the first line of the play), but the rhythmic pattern is ordinarily well enough marked to distinguish verse from prose. Some passages, however, such as the one at hand, are extremely difficult. Most of it seems certainly to be prose, but here and there one can make out what ap-

- pears to be a decasyllabic line. It may justly be questioned whether such occurrences are merely the chance result of normal prose rhythms or whether the passage was actually intended as verse. This edition follows Dyce and B in printing the passage as prose. Any attempt to rework it into a reasonable semblance of verse would necessitate drastic changes.
- 151 *ace*] There is a pun on *ace* and "ass," which were evidently pronounced alike; the same pun appears in *Midsummer Night's Dream*, V. 1.314-317. See Kökeritz, pp. 89, 176 ff.
- 168 *crake*] Boast.
- 169 *Parturient . . . mus*] Horace, *Ars Poetica* 139. The Qq print centered, as if a stage direction.
- 172 *Cipher in Agrum*] The zero. *Agrum* is the popular English "algorithm," the arabic system of numeration.
- 174 *argument . . . disposition*] Cf. *Battle of Alcazar*, below, ll. 393, 957 f.
- 176 *mounting minde*] There is probably a pun on "mountain" and *mounting*. The phrase, with the same pun, appears in *Love's Labors Lost*, IV. 2.4. The pun is also in *Henry V*, II.4.57: "Whiles that his mountain sire, on mountain standing." Theobald emended to "mounting." Cf. *Battle of Alcazar*, below, l. 1320.
- 184-185 Since the lines immediately preceding and following are blank verse, these lines were probably so intended. It seems better to follow Q than to attempt any restoration.
- 195 On the date of the coronation, see above, p. 10.
- 205 *point device*] Perfectly correct; nice to the extreme.
- 218 *owne*] The Q<sub>2</sub> reading is adopted to avoid confusion; *one* (Q<sub>1</sub>) is a variant spelling.
- 219 *by leasure*] Slowly.
- 221 *breaks no square*] Does no harm, does not matter.
- 226 *then*] Should we perhaps read "there"?
- 241 The daughter of Ops was Juno. Cooper (sig. F<sub>2</sub>) gives this account of the origin of the Centaurs: "Ixion by the fauour of Jupiter being admitted to be at a banket in the presence of the gods, was enamoured on Juno and moued hir to advoutrie. She disclosed the thyng to hir husbande: who causinge the tyme to be appointed, in place of Juno subourned a clowde facioned to hir fauoure and fygure. Ixion accompanying with that clowde, on it begatte the Centaures: which thereof were after called *Nubigenae*."
- 248 *debonaire*] Of gentle disposition.
- 263-264 C's emendation to "Thetis" is undoubtedly correct. There was in Peele's mind a constant association between Phoebus, Thetis, and bridegroom. Cf. *Anglorum Feriae*, ll. 23-27:

. . . from where the risinge sune,  
gallops the Zodiack in his fierie wayne,

even to the brincke where Thetis in hir bowre,  
of pummey and tralucent peble stones,  
receaves the wearie Bridegrome of the sea . . .

In *Honour of the Garter*, ll. 422-424, the figure occurs again:

The gaudy morne out of her golden sleepe  
Awaked, and little Birds uncagde, gan sing  
To welcome home the Bridgrome of the Sea.

In *David and Bethsabe*, ll. 864-867, Thetis is again omitted:

As when the sunne attir'd in glist'ring robe,  
Comes dauncing from his orientall gate,  
And bridegroome-like hurles through the gloomy aire  
His radiant beames . . .

For other Phoebus images, see above, l. 38 and n., and *Battle of Alcazar*, l. 1340. It should be noted that the implication of a marriage between Phoebus and Thetis is an error; Thetis was the wife of Peleus and mother of Achilles. The sun-Thetis connection appears also in 2 *Tamburlaine*, I. 6.41-42:

The sun, unable to sustain the sight,  
Shall hide his head in Thetis' watery lap.

- 267 SD Owen ap Rice is not a historical character, but Lluellen had a brother Owen, who is mentioned in the chronicles (Holinshed, p. 279).  
274 *pent . . . remanes*] If the initial *p* were given an introductory up-stroke, *pent* might be misread "spent" (cf. ll. 2402 and 2610, where *respect* and *espected* are evidently errors for *repeat* and *repeated*). The phrase *remanes of glorious Troy* is a mistranslation of "reliquias Danaum" (*Aeneid* 1.30, 598). That Peele's phrase is actually an error, not simply an adaptation, is indicated by l. 678 of Q, where Paris is called *Danaes sonne*; he is, of course, descended from the line of Dardanus, not of Danaus. Perhaps the Virgilian ambiguity is responsible for the difficulty. The Q *Romans* in this line suggests that perhaps a final *e* was misread and that the word should be "remane," which would agree with the translation of the Virgilian phrase in Thomas Phaer, *The Nyne fyrst Bookes of the Eneidos of Vergil* (1562):

Thus flamed in her moode, she kest through all the seas to throwe  
The sely poore remain of Troye that Grekes had laied so lowe.

[sig. A1]

O quene that in our woes (alone) such mercy dost extende  
To us ye poore remain of Troy . . .

[sig. B4v]

- Peele evidently admired Phaer's work; see Prologue to *Honour of the Garter*, ll. 55-56.
- 290 *her . . . sire*] The antecedent of *her* is *the ladie Aeliner* (l. 281), whose father was Simon de Montfort. The only possible explanation of Q seems to be that *her* refers to Cambria, but there is no reason to describe Simon de Montfort as a *thrise valiant sonne* of Cambria. An error of this type is probably to be charged to authorial carelessness.
- 291 *Barons warres*] The civil wars of 1264-65, in which Simon de Montfort led the baronial opposition to Henry III. The actual period of conflict was considerably longer, with sporadic outbursts as early as 1258 and continuing for two years after the death of Montfort in the battle of Evesham in 1265.
- 295 *roadess*] Forays; the word was common until the mid-seventeenth century, when it was lost until Sir Walter Scott restored it in the Scottish form "raid." The older form is preserved in "inroad."
- 306, 308 *her*] Dyce and B emend to "his," assuming that the antecedent is *Edward* (l. 301), as it is for *his*, l. 303. This is grammatically commendable, but unnecessary if we assume the antecedent of *her* to be England understood, or what Edward symbolizes, rather than Edward the individual. (Cf. l. 19 and note, where *his* refers to an unexpressed antecedent.) The use of a masculine possessive here might be confusing because *he* in the same line refers to David. It is possible that *her* is an instance of the old form for "their" (Franz, § 228).
- 312 *SD in Flannell*] By the sixteenth century flannel was a well-known product of Wales; occasionally the word was used to designate a Welshman. Cf. l. 365 and *Merry Wives of Windsor*, V.5.175-176: "I am not able to answer the Welsh flannel."
- 329 Cf. *Descensus Astraeae*, l. 113: "For mightie is truth and will prevaile."
- 331 *worme*] Term of endearment.
- 333 *Mas*] A shortening of "master," generally used preceding a proper name or official title. *Mas* (for "mass") may be used as an imprecation, as it appears to be in l. 399, but here Guenthian is addressing the Friar, not indulging in profanity.
- 334 *apaide*] Content, pleased.
- 335 *laie*] Law; particularly, religious law.
- 341 B queries: "Should this line be given to Jack? or to Guenthian?" While such a change would not disturb the meaning, there is no reason to alter the Q ascription. Throughout this comic interlude, the gentlemen are standing at the rear of the stage, watching and occasionally commenting on the action (ll. 321-322, 331-332, and 364-366). This line may be satisfactorily interpreted as one of those interjected remarks, and it gives Rice an opportunity to speak, where otherwise he would have to stand silent throughout this part of the scene.
- 346 *muskadine*] Muscatel wine.

- 351 *gossips cheere*] Specifically, the caudle given to women in childbed and to their visitors. Here it means merely 'food and drink.'
- 354-355 Dyce 3 and B follow the proposal by Thomas Keightley, "*Peele's Edward I,*" *Notes and Queries*, 21 (January 7, 1860), 7-8, that these lines be emended to read:

That love's desire and pleasures cool  
Sans Ceres' wheat and Bacchus' vine.

The passage is adapted from Terence, *Eunuchus* 732: "sine Cerere et Libero friget Venus." Libero was an old Italian agricultural deity, identified in later times with the Greek Bacchus. Though the emendation is generally desirable, it is not necessary to alter *lovers*; "love's" is closer to the Latin, but *lovers* makes sense and may even be preferred. The original emendation was probably suggested in part because it regularizes the meter. Arguments from metrical regularity have no bearing here, however, because the verse is the old-fashioned "tumbling" type, which admits any number of unstressed syllables to the line.

- 363 *among*] Now and then.
- 364 *like a mans mony*] Apparently a form of the phrase "every man's money," 'what everybody prefers to buy.'
- 368 *Et cum spiritu tuo*] Part of the response in the Mass.
- 374 *mutton*] Prostitute.
- 397 *Mannocke deny*] Daniel's emendation is surely correct. Mannock Denny, which is a local name for Cadir Idris (Arthur's Seat), a mountain in Merioneth, appears three more times in this play. Evidently it was a name unfamiliar to the compositor, for he set it up differently each time: *Mannocke deny* (l. 1181), *Manmocke deny* (l. 1207), and *Manmocke dying* (l. 1220). It is not surprising that the compositor here should read *munck Davie*. He had been setting material dealing with Friar David, for whom Davie is a jocular name (l. 339); "deny" is very close graphically to "davy." Misreading "davy" contributed to the error of *muncke* for *mannocke*. The compositor probably did not draw any fine distinctions between monks and friars, although Peele nowhere describes David as a monk. The compositor would certainly have recognized "moonke" or "mouncke," or even stranger combinations, as spellings of "monk," and these spellings are graphically sufficiently close to *mannocke* to make the misreading seem quite natural.
- 412 *carriage*] Burden.
- 414 *set thee away*] Do away with you.
- 416 *Yea, Dogs ounes*] C, Dyce, and B all print this exclamation, "Ye dogs, ouns!" and so it is cited from Dyce in *OED*. However, the Q<sub>2</sub> reading, which is adopted in this edition, indicates correctly that *Dogs* is the

deformation of "God" used in oaths. *Ye* (Q1) is a phonetic spelling of "yea." With *ounes* cf. Mistress Quickly's "Od's nouns" (*Merry Wives*, IV. 1.26).

416 *shrowde turne*] A malicious act.

418 *Redde . . . tuae*] Vulgate, Lucam 16:2.

421 *Circiorari, procedendo*] "Certiorari, Is a Writ out of the *Chancery* to an Inferior Court, to call up the Records of a Cause therein depending, that conscionable Justice may be therein administred, upon complaint made by Bill, that the Party which seeketh the said Writ, hath receiv'd dealing in the said Court . . ." (John Cowell, *A Law Dictionary*, 1708, sig. H4<sup>v</sup>). "Procedendo, Is a Writ whereby a Plea or cause, formerly called from a base Court to the *Chancery*, *King's-Bench*, or *Common-Pleas*, by Writ of *Privilege* or *Certiorari*, is released or sent down again to the same Court, to be proceeded in there, after it appeareth that the *Defendant* hath no cause of *Privilege*, or that the matter compriseth in the Bill be not well proved . . ." (Cowell, sig. Rr1<sup>v</sup>). The Friar seems to have confused his terms, but if his exact meaning is somewhat muddled, Lluellen and his comrades comprehend the drubbing the Friar administers as he concludes his speech.

423 *Mundue*] I.e., "mon dieu."

428 *honestie*] Honorable position; high rank.

437 *at any hand*] On any account.

438 *heere are here*] Daniel's emendation makes adequate sense and tampers as little as possible with Q. B reads: "I and Richard my man, sir, are here . . ." It is probable that neither of these emendations is correct and that Q *For here* is an error for one word, a verb, the corruption arising through misreading or through association with *heere* in the preceding line. There is the further possibility that a line, or a portion of a line, has been omitted.

444 *busie . . . cattel*] "To be busy with" is to have sexual intercourse with. B.E., *A New Dictionary of the Terms Ancient and Modern of the Canting Crew* (1699), has this entry: "Cattle, Whores. Sad Cattle, Impudent Lewd Women" (sig. C5<sup>r</sup>).

451 *in Secula seculorum*] Usually translated "world without end"; a phrase recurrent in the Mass.

455 *Ruffines*] Ruffin was a name for a fiend or devil; it is also a variant of ruffian, which, in addition to its modern meaning, also was used for 'pimp or bawdy-house bully.'

455 SD This edition follows Dyce and B in adding an entrance for the Novice. Jack leaves the stage at l. 356; he has a speech at l. 473, and this seems the only feasible point for his re-entry.

455 SD *Who . . . life*] William Chappell, *Old English Popular Music* (London, 1893), 1, 303, prints a tune by this name, but Peele's words do not fit it. Chappell suggests that there may have been another air by the same name.

- 467 *Whats hee for a man?*] What kind of man is he? Cf. the German idiom "Was für." Daniel queries: "The first of these Friar's speeches to be given to one of Lluellen's followers; or else give the second speech to Jack?" Certainly there would be no difficulty in ascribing the first speech to Owen, who seems to have been forgotten by the author and whose part would surely be an awkward one for the actor. To give the Friar's speech to Jack would be unsatisfactory if the assumption that he enters with the Harper is correct. It is not impossible to explain the text as it stands. The Friar and Lluellen first exclaim about the peculiar character who has just entered. Rice then, addressing the group, asks if the "Goose-cap" is known. The Friar, taking a second look at the newcomer, suddenly recognizes him, and explains.
- 468 *Goscup*] Goosecap (as in Q2), or goose-head; i.e., a numbskull, a fool.
- 471 *moraine*] Variant of "murrain," used frequently in imprecations.
- 473 *od*] Unique, remarkable.
- 481 *kinder kinde*] Variant of "kilderkin."
- 492 *Goates*] The goats are explained in ll. 507-508 as the insignia worn by Lluellen's men. The goat-herding Welsh appear to have been a standing English joke. See Pistol's remark (*Henry V*, V.1.29): "Not for Cadwallader and all his goats," and Falstaff (*Merry Wives*, V. 5.148): "Am I ridden with a Welsh goat too?" Glendower (*1 Henry IV*, III.1.39) declares that at his birth there were great portents and "The goats ran from the mountains."
- 495 *recure*] "Recure" and "hew (hue)" are terms generally, though not exclusively, applied to the condition of one's health. Here the meaning is 'and Wales shall recover its ancient glory.'
- 497 *a*] I.e., he.
- 517 Q1 omits this line, but it is supplied from the repetition of the prophecy in ll. 528-533.
- 518-519 Qq print as one line, but two are required by the doggerel verse pattern of the passage; this applies also to the reprise of the prophecy in ll. 528-533.
- 538-539 *and so . . . boie*] This edition follows Qq in not punctuating this phrase. C punctuates: "and so forth; apply boy." B: "and so forth: apply, boy." I should rather interpret it as Dyce punctuates it: "and so, forth, apply, boy."
- 548 *owne*] C's emendation must be correct. Perhaps the manuscript had "y<sup>r</sup> owne," which the compositor misread *ground*. If this is true, the scribe had evidently also written *his* as a correction, and both appear in the printed form.
- 559 SD The exit is apparently an error, for the Friar is still on stage at l. 626. Daniel may be correct in suggesting that the direction should call for the Friar and Guentlian to retire to the rear of the stage, but see note to l. 630 SD.
- 561 *Metheglen*] "Metheglyn, which is moste used in wales, by reason of

- hotte herbes boyled with hony, is hotter than meade, and more comforteth a colde stomake, if it be perfectly made, and not new or very stale" (Sir Thomas Elyot, *The Castel of Helth*, 1541, fol. 36).
- 565 It might perhaps be better to adopt Dyce's suggestion of "seems" and B's emendation to "fitted," although they are not strictly necessary. The meaning, which is somewhat obscure, refers to Jack's offer to teach the Harper to play the knave; the Harper thinks himself too light-minded, but Jack regards him as eminently qualified.
- 565 SD Again the exeunt seems to be wrong, for the Novice at least is still on stage at the end of the scene. Daniel suggests that this couple should join the Friar and Guentlian at the back of the stage, but see note to l. 630 SD.
- 569 *darest*] Dyce and B emend to "dart'st," which is the correct meaning. *Darest* is a phonetic spelling revealing the loss of *t* (also *d*) before a following *st*. Cf. *safest* for "safest" (l. 1228); *chasest* for "chastest" (l. 1232); *broughst* (l. 1990). Kökeritz (p. 303) lists similar cases in Shakespeare.
- 570 *Aegeus*] Evidently to be pronounced as a dissyllable; perhaps Q *Aegen* was Peele's way of indicating orthographically the reduction of the final syllables. The story of the death of Aegeus is recounted by Cooper (sig. A3<sup>v</sup>).
- 571 Were Peele not so fond of such repetition, one might suppose the second *welcome* to be an error. Cf. below, *Battle of Alcazar*, l. 865.
- 578 *in triumphes*] I.e., with public shows and pageants, not simply 'triumphant' Cf. l. 93.
- 595 *Montargis*] An ancient town of France, on the Loing, sixty miles south of Paris. See above, p. 11.
- 604 *thy*] "The" may be misprinted for "thy" in *Old Wives' Tale*, l. 8. J. D. Wilson, *Manuscript of Shakespeare's Hamlet* (Cambridge, 1934), 1, 112, explains errors of "the" for "thy" in Shakespearean texts as the misreading of the *ε* form. It may easily be accounted for as the compositor's version of the sort of muscular coordination error so familiar to typists; that is, "the" is such a common word that when *th* is written, the *e* often follows automatically.
- 605 *fallowed laies*] Untilled grasslands. With this version of the death of Python cf. *Polyhymnia*, ll. 212-213.
- 607 *brute*] Briton, Welshman; variant of "Britt," or "Brett," probably arising from association with the legendary Brutus, founder of the race.
- 608 *gainlegd*] "Coles, *Eng. Lat. Dic.* 1679, has 'Gain [person] *agilis, dexter,*' and in his *Eng. Dic.* 1708, has 'Gain (man) *active, expert.*' *Gain-legg'd* would therefore be equivalent to *active*, or *nimble-legg'd*, a sense good enough here, as applied to 'The famous *runagate* of Christendom.'" —P. A. Daniel.
- 609 *fawchions*] I.e., falchion's.
- 620 *rage*] I.e., outrage.

628 *ab ovo . . . mala*] Horace, *Satires* 1.3.6.

630 SD If the stage direction is correct, *ere* must be a conjunctive adverb meaning 'but first'; otherwise it would be difficult to explain the two subjunctives following. However, Kökeritz makes the interesting suggestion that if the final speeches of the Friar and Novice were interpolations, the exeunt would refer to Lluellen and the lords, in which case the remainder of the direction would be perfectly comprehensible. Support for this conjecture is found in the fact that exits have already been marked for the Friar (after l. 559) and the Harper and Novice (after l. 565). Perhaps Peele wished to add a song for the comic characters and first wrote only the stage direction; then he later inserted the speeches and the preceding direction, but failed to make the necessary adjustments here. Surgery resolves the problem for Dyce; he omits ll. 626-630 and the troublesome directions. B emends to "Here . . . falls . . . answers."

630 SD *sute of Glasse*] See above, p. 7.

631 Cf. 2 *Henry VI*, 1.1.72-75:

We thank you all for this great favour done,  
In entertainment to my princely queen.  
Come, let us in, and with all speed provide  
To see her coronation be perform'd.

636 *repose*] Dyce's emendation seems necessary, although it is difficult to account for the error, unless it be that the compositor was influenced by *applause* in the line above.

642 *Th'ambitious*] The emendation was first suggested by Thomas Keightley (*Notes and Queries*, 21, January 7, 1860, 8), who later, according to B, proposed instead "Th'enkindled." The error is apparently to be charged to the compositor.

668 Between ll. 668 and 669 the Qq print these lines:

And lovelie England to thy lovely Queene,  
Lovelie Queene Elinor, unto her turne thy eye,  
Whose honor cannot but love thee wel.

The lines are an obvious intrusion at this point, and their excision leaves the King's speech in what must be the form intended by the author. The omitted lines are printed in this edition as ll. 701-703, as suggested by Deighton, p. 90 (see note to l. 701).

676 *doome*] Judgment, decision. The word is a favorite with Peele; see *Arraignement of Paris*, ll. 441, 557, and *passim*.

678 *Dardans*] Dardanus was the founder of the Trojan race, and the Trojans are frequently called Dardanides (*Aeneid*, 1.560, 2.59, 72, and *passim*). Paris may, therefore, be rightly termed *Dardans sonne*. On the source of the error see note to l. 274.

- 680 *heart*] Dyce queries "heart's ease," as in l. 1949, but in spite of the metrical irregularity which the queried change would correct, *heart* (i.e., courage) is better here.
- 690 *ceast*] This is possibly a corruption, or a line may be missing.
- 691 *pittie*] A variant of "piety."
- 692-693 The syntax here seems confused, but taking *will build* as an intransitive verb removes the apparent difficulty. Balliol College was founded by the father of the King of Scotland; Peele's error is evidently due to Grafton (p. 169): "And at last by the consent of king Edward, the crowne was geuen to Ihon Bailioll, who afterward to gratifie the English nation, buylded a Colledge in Oxford nowe called Bailioll Colledge." Stow, p. 1304, gives a date that is approximately correct, but he too says that the founder was King of Scotland. The confusion of the two Balliols apparently had wide currency if one may judge from the acerbity with which the error is attacked by Henry Savage, *Balliofergus* (Oxford, 1668), p. 12.
- 699 *Shake thy speres*] Fleay, 2, 157, sees in this line not only an allusion to Shakespeare, but assurance "that the part of Edward was acted by Shakespeare." Few have seen fit to take either suggestion seriously.
- 701-703 These lines appear in Qq after l. 668. I insert them here because they are more in the vein of the Queen than of the King, to whom they were originally ascribed, and because they provide a transition to *Queene Elinors speeche*. That this speech is an interpolation is suggested by its unusual heading, its abrupt beginning, and the sharp break between ll. 728 and 729. Probably the manuscript had *Queene Elinors speeche* on a separate leaf with a mark for insertion here, and the author, in an attempt to make a smooth transition, wrote the three misplaced lines up the margin of the original leaf, or perhaps on the verso. That such a practice was not unknown and that it could easily mislead the printer the manuscript of *Sir Thomas More* gives ample evidence. The significance of the interpolation is discussed above, pp. 29-30.
- 704 ff. *Queene Elinors speech* is so extravagant that it verges at times on nonsense. With ll. 704-705 cf. *Arraignement of Paris*, l. 91, and *David and Bethsabe*, ll. 869-870. The primary meaning of *garded* (l. 708) is 'trimmed, decorated,' but it doubtless has also a suggestion of 'protected,' carried on in *brave* (l. 709), the primary meaning of which is 'fine, beautiful.' Previous editors have placed a full stop after l. 709 and retained the Q *give* as an imperative verb, but this seems wrong. The *quarries* (l. 710) and *orbe* (l. 711) are the quarrels which compose the *sute of Glasse* worn by the King. The Queen is saying: the starry sky on a winter night sparkles no more than does Edward in his glass suit, and like the stars from the sky the Queen's image (reflected in each of the orbs of glass) shines forth from every part of him. Thus, his person is decorated by a troop of queens, each of whom—as fine as Elinor—gives a glory to the glass quarrels, and every orb reflects a

richly garbed and princely person. As Narcissus dived into the deep and drowned, so the Queen (by being reflected in the suit) appears to be drowning. But instead of in water, it is in her delight (i.e., the King) in which she drowns, etc.

- 723 *Ore prie* is a variant of "overpeer." In its literal sense, it suggests Edward's great height; figuratively, it means 'excel,' as in *Merchant of Venice*, I.1.12. The palm is the symbol of faithful and fruitful marriage:

the loving Palmes  
(Best Embleme of a peacefull marriage)  
That nev'r bore fruite devided.

[*Duchess of Malfi*, I.1.555-557]

Pliny has a fascinating account of palm-tree love in *Natural History* 13. 7.34-35; for the real renaissance flavor, however, it should be read in Philemon Holland's translation (1601), I, 386, rather than in either the original or more modern "scientific" translations. Burton has gathered some interesting information on the loving palms, including "two Palme trees in *Italy*, the male growing at *Brundusium*, the female at *Otranto* . . . which were barren, and so continued a long time, till they came to see one another by growing up higher, though many Stadiums asunder" (*The Anatomy of Melancholy*, Oxford, 1624, p. 357). The *fountaines* are apparently Edward's eyes (cf. "the fountaines of his drowned eyes," *David and Bethsabe*, I. 1048).

- 726 *seaze*] Deighton, p. 93, would emend to "ease."

- 741 ff. There is some confusion about the coronation. The King, ll. 634-635, says that it has taken place; l. 733 indicates that it is shortly to occur, but in ll. 741-743 it appears that Elinor will be crowned only after the Welsh are put down. Deighton, pp. 93-94, noting the confusion, would emend the passage to read:

Brother of Scotland, you shall to your home,  
At coronation meet your loving peers,  
And live in honour there fair England's friend.  
And thou, sweet Nell, Queen of King Edward's heart,  
Shalt not come lesser at thy dainty love  
When storms are past, etc.

The difficulties, however, may be due to revision of the scene; see above, p. 33.

- 747 This edition follows Dyce and B in not marking a new scene at this point; it is impossible to tell from the text exactly what the author intended, for while he gives an exeunt as if to mark the end of the scene, there is no entrance for the Queen and her party. Presumably on the Elizabethan stage, where action proceeds with a cinematic fluidity, there would be no general exeunt between the two episodes. The im-



- the crusading champion of Christianity by a name implying apostasy.
- 846 *blade*] The Q error is a case of misreading *o* for *a*, one of the more frequent misreadings. The compositor, seeing *blade*, read *blode*, a perfectly respectable sixteenth century spelling. He may have been influenced too by the fact that he had just set up *bloud* in l. 844. The account of Perseus' slaughter of Medusa appears in many places. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, tells the story, but of the weapon says only "teloque accingitur unco" (4.666). Peele's source is probably Apollodorus, *The Library* 2.4.2, where Perseus is described as λαβὼν δὲ καὶ παρὰ Ἑρμοῦ ἀδαμαντίνην ἄρπην (taking from Hermes an adamantine sickle). Hermes (Mercury) is the son of Maia. Where the ultimate ownership of the blade is traced to Saturn, I have no idea.
- 848 *Conflicting*] A participle parallel with *Brandishing* (l. 846), modifies *Perseus*, not *Maia's sonne*. *tho*] Then. Cf. *Tale of Troy*, l. 312.
- 851 *centuries*] The Q error is basically the common misreading of *o* for *e*. Originally "century" was a division of the Roman army, presumably 100 men. It came to mean any body of a hundred men and by extension any group of a hundred things, as Thomas Watson's *Hecatompithia, or Passionate Centurie of Love*, or Imogene's "century of prayers" (*Cymbeline*, IV.2.391). It should be noted that the emendation is not necessary for the sake of the meter, for *countries* may be trisyllabic; see Peele's *Tale of Troy*, l. 198, in both the 1589 and 1604 versions.
- 854 *gage*] Measure. However, *OED* cites a unique example of the phrase "gawged and cut," which renders "ne furent encore percé" in Thomas Stocker's translation, *Civil Wars of the Low Countries* (1583). *OED* suggests that it may mean 'to burst through,' which could be Peele's meaning. *bulke*] ". . . the boulke, called in latyn thorax, whiche conteyneth the brest, the sides, the stomake, and entrayles" (Elyot, *The Castle of Helth*, 1541, fol. 89<sup>v</sup>).
- 855 *and what is more.*] Dyce and B add an interrogation mark and note: "i.e., and what is more disloyal?" But C is probably correct in using a dash to indicate that Lluellen interrupts the speech. For use of the full stop in pointing interrupted speeches, see Percy Simpson, *Shakespearean Punctuation* (Oxford, 1911), p. 84.
- 856 The actor would probably pronounce this line as B prints it: "Why, Longshanks, think'st thou I'll be scared with words?" The alternative is to make *thinkst* dissyllabic and read the line as an alexandrine.
- 858 *Briareus*] "A gygant, whiche was of an excedeinge greatnesse, and had an hundred armes. He was also called *Aegaeon*" (Cooper, sig. D6).
- 866 *kinde*] Kinsmen, or perhaps the more common 'nature.'
- 869 *pardie*] I.e., "par dieu."
- 871 *dastard*] Cowardly.
- 872 *Edward . . . Englands*] The Q reading probably results from the compositor's attempt to carry a whole line in his head. Cf. *Polyhymnia*, l. 4: "Britanias Atlas, Star of Englands globe."

- 880 Cf. *Edward II*, III.3.57: "It is but temporal that thou canst inflict."
- 884 *Dogges*] The Friar is punning. A dog is a tool for gripping or holding; here the *hote Dogges* are the *hote Pinsers* of the stage direction at l. 897.
- 893 *earnest pennie*] A small sum of money paid to secure a bargain.
- 899 *by peecemeales*] Into pieces.
- 902 Alternative interpretations are suggested by punctuation of previous editors: "What threat'st thou, Edward?" (C); "What, threat'st thou, Edward?" (Dyce + B).
- 903 *that*] That which.
- 928 *in my eye*] In my presence. Cf. *Polyhymnia*, l. 86, and *Hamlet*, III. 8.6: "We shall express our duty in his eye."
- 930 *Saw haw*] A phonetic spelling of "soho," a call used by huntsmen to direct attention of the dogs or other hunters to a hare which has been started—and by extension, to draw a person's attention to some discovery.
- 935 *fleete*] Dissolve or waste away, disintegrate.
- 944 *Tike*] Cur.
- 967 *goes . . . pot*] To be cut in pieces like meat for a stew; hence, to be destroyed.
- 969 *tumbling cast*] A throw in wrestling; overthrow.
- 970 Gruffydd, father of Lluellen, was sent to the Tower as a hostage by Henry III. In attempting to escape by a makeshift ladder of bedclothing, he fell and broke his neck.
- 981 *efusion . . . bloud*] Holinshed and his fellow chronicle writers are very fond of this phrase.
- 1003 *brabble*] Brawl.
- 1013 *Hell*] Apparently the compositor thought he saw an abbreviation for *Lluellen*.
- 1015 SD *Enter Jack and the Harper*] There is no discernible reason for the presence of these two in this scene. At the same time, it is impossible to prove that the text is in error; at least there seems no reason to assume that lines belonging to the pair have been omitted. Perhaps they are introduced to suggest the interest of the Welsh public in the movement of their English Queen, but their presence is at best awkward.
- 1016 *pantables*] Variant of "pantofle" (Q<sub>2</sub>); usually means slippers, but here probably the high cork-soled overshoes worn to keep the feet out of the mud.
- 1035 *Arras points*] Ordinarily "points" refers to lace, but Arras was noted for its tapestries, not lace. "Arras" often means an imitation tapestry used for bedclothes, tablecloths, and hangings. Perhaps the streets were covered with "arras counterpoints" like those in Gremio's chests (*Taming of the Shrew*, II.1.344). See above, pp. 25, 51, for discussion of this passage.
- 1036 *Azured*] Colored azure.

- 1037 *cloth of ray*] Striped cloth (cf. French "raie").
- 1041 *marrish*] Marshy.
- 1043-46 Bethsabe has this remarkable respiratory ability (*David and Bethsabe*, l. 1746).
- 1047-50 Dyce 3 notes: "A mutilated and corrupted speech (in which perhaps '*new-planted*' should be '*new-painted*' and '*wallowing*' should be '*wallow*'). As to '*Thamesis*,'—it must be recollected that the speaker is in *Wales*!!" Something is obviously wrong, but it is hardly to be corrected by such tinkering. The relative pronoun at the beginning of l. 1047 and the lack of continuity between the preceding speech and this one suggest that lines have been omitted. See above, p. 30.
- 1050 *Napees*] "*Napeae*, Goddesses of floures and wooddes, or rather Elfes hauntynge wooddes." (Cooper, sig. M4). Cf. Virgil, *Georgics* 4.535.
- 1057 *woo*] The Q2 reading is adopted to avoid confusion; *woe* (Q1) is a variant spelling.
- 1080 *gal*] I.e., gall.
- 1091 *sorts an end*] Comes to an end.
- 1098 ff. Proper lineation for the remainder of this scene presents some difficulty. Ends of lines are usually indicated by rhyme words. Although variant feet occur, the verse is iambic, but Peele is writing with no fixed syllabic count. Line lengths vary from eight to fourteen syllables, and even rhyming couplets do not always have lines of equal length. As a result, the verse at times reads almost like the doggerel of the comic scenes. From l. 1144 to the end the scene is evidently prose.
- 1100 *long on*] On account of. The Queen's meaning here is not clear, but we may assume that she is interrupted by the King.
- 1106 *disposed*] Disposed to be merry.
- 1107 *be naught*] Keep quiet or withdraw.
- 1110 *madding*] Acting madly, frenzied. Cf. *Old Wives' Tale*, ll. 235, 1055.
- 1112 *sweet water*] A sweet-smelling liquid preparation.
- 1116 *cannot right me*] While the Q *came not right in* might conceivably be explained as 'because I did not go ahead [and box his ears],' Dyce's emendation makes better sense and a better rhyme. Q can be explained as a misreading of "cam"—which the compositor set as *came*—for "can"; *in* for "me" is not unusual (see ll. 1119, 2564).
- 1119 *call in*] There seems to be some error here. Perhaps the line should be read and punctuated: "Proud Edward! call me thy Elinor! be still!"
- 1127 *all amort*] From the spacing of Q1 it is impossible to be sure that the compositor did not set up "all a mort," as his successor did in 1599. *All amort* is a corruption of "alamort" (French "à la mort"), meaning 'spiritless, dejected.'
- 1130 *for the nonce*] On purpose.
- 1135 *chare is charde*] That job is done; a proverbial expression.
- 1142 *Elinor*] Assuming that the compositor inadvertently omitted *Elinor* gives the best sense to the line and allows it to become a fourteener

couplet with the following line. The alternative is the unsatisfactory interpretation indicated by Dyce's punctuation: "And vaunt she may, good leave, being curst and coy."

1143 *whilst*] Until.

1144 *Ven acá*] Apparently Elinor, in her illness, resorts to her native tongue. *Ven acá* means 'come here' in Spanish.

1146 *Kath. Spain.*] The speech ascription is given just as it appears in Q. It probably means that Elinor's servant is Spanish and should speak her lines with a foreign accent.

1150 SD Although the text calls for an exit here and a re-entry at l. 1212, Mortimer apparently does not actually leave the stage, for his soliloquy at the end of the scene indicates that he has overheard Lluellen's plans.

1152 *false . . . brood*] Sinon, who persuaded the Trojans to receive the wooden horse into the city, is the symbol of the arch-traitor. The manuscript may have had "sapent" as a phonetic spelling for "serpent"; *r* before consonants had nearly disappeared from English speech by the end of the sixteenth century, and the *ar* spellings for older *er* were well established by then (Wyld, pp. 212 ff., 298-299; Kökeritz, pp. 250 ff., 315-316).

1157 *I faith*] I.e., in faith.

1167 *Maddocke*] Earthworm, maggot. The last of the Welsh uprisings in 1294 was led by one Madoc, or Madock (Holinshed, p. 293; Grafton, p. 170—the latter, p. 175, erroneously referring to him once as "Madock or Meridock"). Thieme, p. 44, assumes that the reference in the text is to this Madoc. If so, it is the only time he is mentioned in the play, but the use of italics suggests that the compositor also took the word for a proper name.

1168 *there . . . straw*] "To lay a straw" is 'to pause.' Ordinarily the verb is transitive, but *OED*, "straw," 9b, cites the occasional use of an elliptical "there a straw," from which the intransitive expression may have arisen.

1178 *fair and well*] The Q reading may be interpreted "fare," and so previous editors spell the word, but *OED*, "fair," adv., 5, cites the phrase "fair and well," suggesting that either *heere* is to be read "hear" or that a verb, like "do" or "live," has been omitted. Cf. Chaucer, "The Canon's Yeoman's Tale," l. 1113: "And he hem leyde faire and wel adoun."

1181 *irregulers*] Men not attached to any particular livery or master.

1185 *messe*] Group of four, so-called from the practice of breaking up a company at a banquet into smaller groups, usually of four.

1186 *doe well*] Dyce's emendation to "dwell" is a good one, and the error not difficult to account for; however, the Q makes sense.

1188 *curia*] In Med. L., court (of a king or baron).

1189-90 Dyce and B agreed that these lines were nonsense. J. D. Reeves, *Notes and Queries*, 201 (August, 1956), 328-29, interprets *infracte*

*fortune* as 'unbroken, or uninterrupted good luck' (at being again with her lover). He paraphrases the lines thus: "even if this unbroken fortune of mine could never boast her supremacy." I am afraid this does not mean much to me. *OED* defines "infract" as 'broken' and cites this passage and another to support the meaning. However, Nares, 1, 459, defines it as 'unbroken' and cites supporting examples in which this meaning is clear. I rather think the sense is 'even if I should never be restored to my previous fortunate position' (i.e., one fitting an Earl's daughter). Certainly the general intent of the whole passage is simple enough; Elinor means, 'Whatever happens, I shall always stay with you.' It is also certain, no matter how difficult the first two lines, that the text, except for minor spelling and punctuation problems, preserves Peele's own words. Here, at least, we are contending with the author, not the poor compositor.

- 1193 *deserts Oenophrius*] "*Onophrius*, A certayne man, that so loued solitarinesse, that in the space of three score yeres he neuer sawe man, and by that continuall beyng in wyldernes, became exceedinge owglie to see to. For his heare and bearde couered all the vpper parte of his bodie and his pryue partes he hyd with barks and leaues of trees. He lyued .30. yeres, and neuer dyd eate any thyng but hearbes and bearies. Panutius when he sawe him was afrayde of him, and thought he had bene a Satyre" (Cooper, sig. Nr<sup>v</sup>).
- 1203 *Pioners*] Technically, a footsoldier who goes ahead to clear the way, but extended to include any laborer who works with spade and shovel, particularly in mining and countermining operations.
- 1206 Omission of *me* renders the meaning clear and makes the meter regular; perhaps the manuscript had the word marked for deletion, and the compositor inserted it by mistake.
- 1207 *hold thee*] Wager.
- 1210 *jet*] Strut.
- 1215 *roist it out*] Conduct oneself riotously.      *roust*] Create noisy disturbances.
- 1218 *cocke*] Perversion of "god," used frequently in oaths.
- 1220 *Manmocke deny*] See note to l. 397.
- 1222 Because the meter is irregular, Dyce 3 reads: "His Elinor! her, were she his, I wot." B substitutes "his" for "her." A better way of tidying up the meter would be "His Elinor, and were shee his I wott." Peele frequently uses "and" for the archaic "an," 'if.'
- 1224 *quechy*] Swampy.
- 1226 *yet*] Probably a variant spelling of "it," the reading adopted by previous editors.
- 1228 *safest*] I.e., "softest," but no emendation is necessary. *OED* cites "saft" as a Scottish variant of soft, but it was, and still is, more widespread. The Q reading is a phonetic spelling showing loss of *t* before *st* (see notes to ll. 569, 1232).

1232 *tyst*] I.e., enticed. Q *tyset* may be Peele's spelling; cf. *Arraignment of Paris*, l. 950, where "enticet" appears. *chasest*] Phonetic spelling for "chastest" (see notes to ll. 569 and 1228).

1234 Both meter and sense indicate loss of a monosyllable at the end of the line, but B's addition of "sun" does not help; he is probably right, however, in placing a full stop after *yield*.

1238-39 For these puzzling lines Mitford suggests:

It is enough. Jove changes glittering robes,  
And then he flies to see Mnemosyne.

Deighton, p. 95, proposes an incomprehensible reading that would change the mythological references into mere personifications of abstractions; certainly nothing could be less like Peele, to whom the ancient deities were very real. A more recent contribution is made by J. D. Reeves, *Notes and Queries*, 201 (August, 1956), 328-29:

It is enough. Jove chang'd his glittering robes  
To see Mnemosyne in shepherd's weeds.

To support this reading, Reeves cites what he calls a "striking parallel" from Thomas Watson, *Hecatompethia*, 1582 (to which Peele contributed a commendatory sonnet): "Nor sweete *Mnemosyne*, whose love he wunne / In shepherdes weede . . ." Peele had read his Ovid and certainly knew that Jove courted Mnemosyne disguised as a shepherd (*Metamorphoses* 4.114), but it does not seem to me that any editorial principle can sanction so drastic a recension even though it makes good sense. Cf. 1 *Tamburlaine*, l. 2.198: "Jove sometimes masked in a shepherd's weed."

1240 The comma following *after* is equivalent to a full stop.

1244 *their*] I.e., there.

1245-46 The King, who has many attendants besides Mortimer, will not miss him.

1246 SD *Blith and bonny*] This song has not been identified.

1253 *teene*] Suffering.

1255 *doe*] Moore Smith suggests "goe."

1257 "To look black on" is 'to look angrily at.' The subject, however, must be supplied, and B's conjecture of "eyne" may be right.

1280 *go*] Both rhyme and meter demand the addition.

1282 This passage would perhaps make better sense if ll. 1282 and 1283 were reversed.

1285 *within*] This may be a printer's error for "with thee." However, the reference to the Friar as a porter (l. 1293) taken together with this line suggests that the band has built the *Cabban* mentioned in l. 1204. Throughout the scene, then, Elinor would be sitting within some sort of structure.

1291 *nolens volens*] Willy-nilly.

- 1292 *at al*] B defines as a term in card-playing. Nares (1, 408) lists "have at all" as a gambling phrase meaning 'desperate risk.' In *Sir John Oldcastle*, l. 1499 (MSR), the phrase is used in the dice game of passage, but the exact meaning is not clear. Cf. "take all" (*Antony and Cleopatra*, IV.2.8), which Kittredge explains as "the cry of the gambler when he throws down his last stake."
- 1294 *blinde a skuse*] Mortimer's meaning is not clear. "Blind-excuse" is defined as 'a sorry shift' (B.E., *A New Dictionary of the Terms Ancient and Modern of the Canting Crew*, 1690) and 'a poor or insufficient excuse' (Francis Grose, *A Classical Dictionary of the Vulgar Tongue*, ed. Eric Partridge, London, 1931). Nowhere but in Peele has it been found as a verb.
- 1296 *licke*] Kiss. It is not so defined by OED, but see *Roister Doister*, l. 376 (MSR): "Well I have not bene taught to kissing and licking." Cf. *Sir John Oldcastle*, l. 685 (MSR), and *Locrine*, l. 407 (MSR), where the meaning is also clear.
- 1308-09 These lines are puzzling. For *away*, C and Dyce 2 read "a way" and B and Dyce 3 "a nay," but Q probably means 'because he is afraid to make an opening move.' *Have away* is equivalent to "have after" (OED, "have," 20). The confusion of pronouns could be cleared up by giving the lines to Mortimer, but this would leave the Friar's first two lines without much point. Dyce and B read "he" for *I*.
- 1318 *no*] The emendation seems necessary for the rhyme.
- 1319 *broilde*] Mixed up, confused. See OED, "broil," v. 2 (adapted from French "brouiller").
- 1327 *SD along*] At a distance.
- 1340 *Copes mate*] Opponent; sometimes used in a vague contemptuous sense for 'fellow.'
- 1348 Previous editors have punctuated this line: "Tis well, potter; you fight in a good quarrel." The Q reading, however, suggests that the meaning is 'it is well that you fight in a good quarrel.'
- 1349 *then*] Possibly an error for "thine."
- 1350 *for mine owne turne*] Good enough for my purposes.
- 1356-61 Again proper lineation presents a problem. As we have seen, the basic pattern of the doggerel is four stresses, with a varying number of unstressed syllables, but Peele adheres to this pattern no more strictly than he does to the basic decasyllabic pattern of the unrhymed verse. The key to the lineation here is the rhyme. The first three lines are a triple rhyme of *matter : clatter : water*. The next two lines make an unsatisfactory couplet, but it is unlikely that two lines of prose would be inserted in the midst of this doggerel section.
- 1360 *dived . . . into your bosome*] Cf. *Richard II*, I.4.25-26:

How he did seem to dive into their hearts  
With humble and familiar courtesy.

- 1372 *what I aile*] An obsolete variant of "what ails me."
- 1376-77 Dyce notes that there may be some corruption here, because we expect a couplet rhyming *peccavi: amavi*. However, the rhymes are there, and Peele so frequently departs from the four-stress pattern that there need not necessarily be more corruption than an error in lineation.
- 1384 *noule*] Head; a variant spelling of "noll."
- 1385 *cottens*] Proceeds, gets on successfully.
- 1387 *shorten . . . mine*] Diminish, lessen. Cf. *Second Maid's Tragedy*, l. 2385 (MSR): "thy glories shalbe shortend." *Mine* may be an error for "thine."
- 1392 *she*] C suggests "tree," and so Dyce and B read.
- 1397 *laies . . . loade*] To "lay on load" is to 'deal heavy blows.'
- 1401 *adle*] "*Addle*, Empty or rotten; properly spoken of an Egg, and figuratively apply'd to a Hair-brain'd, Empty scull'd Fellow" (quoted in OED).
- 1424 *his*] It is not necessary to emend to "her" or "the" as previous editors do; the antecedent is *Albania* (l. 1422), which in this case is masculine because it refers to the person of the ruler.
- 1426 *hast*] Perhaps, as Dyce notes, we should read "hest," but see l. 2042.
- 1434 *rodes*] See note to l. 295.
- 1435 *We there thinke*] There is evidently some corruption here, but none of the emendations thus far proposed (see collation notes) seems satisfactory.
- 1435 SD *Cressingham, all*] Cressingham is mentioned in l. 1438. The quarto reading evidently arose through misinterpretation of an abbreviation. Sir Hugh Cressingham was appointed Lord Treasurer of Scotland when Edward set up his regency under John de Warren, Earl of Surrey and Sussex, after Balliol's defection in 1296. He was killed in the following year in a battle with William Wallace. *booted*] Equipped for riding.
- 1441 *Northam*] It was at Norham that the assembled Scottish lords swore fealty to Edward in 1291 before the crown was settled on Balliol; see above, pp. 13, 33.
- 1453 SD *Mary Dutches of Lancaster*] Neither of Edmund of Lancaster's two wives was named Mary. Daniel suggests that the text should read "Mary Mayoress of London"; the Mayoress is probably the Queen's attendant (l. 1687), and her name is Mary (l. 2106), but it would be difficult to explain the corruption. G. C. Moore Smith, "Notes on Peele," *MLR*, 17 (1922), 290, suggests "Maris, Dutches of Lancaster," which would make the error easy to explain. The simplest emendation, however, would be the insertion of a comma after *Mary*, which would allow the text to be interpreted as 'Mary (i.e., the Mayoress) and the Duchess of Lancaster'; but one wonders why the Duchess should be present at all, since she never speaks. The difficulty may be due to the revision of the scene; see above, p. 32.

- 1469 *me*] *In* misprinted for "me" occurs also at ll. 1116, 2564, and probably in l. 1119.
- 1478 *curiouslie*] Handsomely, beautifully.
- 1479 *thine*] The emendation of previous editors to "mine" may give the line added significance in the light of the Queen's later confession, but it seems unnecessary. Elinor is saying, 'He is your own. As truly as he is yours, give order for his being handsomely clothed.'
- 1481 *lesse*] Though suspect, this reading is not impossible; the meaning is satisfactory, and the rhyme, though not exact, is not too strained. Milton, *Vacation Exercise*, ll. 49-50, has "feast : rest"; Cowley, *Ode. Of Wit*, ll. 21-22, has "jest : feast." Examples may be multiplied from Shakespeare and the early dramatists to show that long and short vowels are frequently used together in rhyming passages. However, *lesse* : *feast* cannot be an exact rhyme because of the final consonants, although it is as close as *funt* : *went* in the next couplet. Perhaps we should read "lesst" (i.e., the past tense of the verb "less," for which *OED* cites examples of transitive uses as late as 1633). B emends to "least," which is a less satisfactory reading.
- 1499-1500 The early texts err in giving these lines to Longshanks. Previous editors concur in ascribing 1499 to Gloucester, but only B, at the suggestion of Daniel, recognized that the reference to *Neece* in 1500 shows that this line belongs to Edmund. While the present edition gives both lines to Edmund, l. 1499 would perhaps be more dramatically apt in the mouth of the prospective bridegroom.
- 1519 *rebels*] This emendation for *Abbies* seems closest graphically as well as most in accord with Peele's meaning; the repetition of the word in the next line is typical of Peele's abuse of that device. Deighton, p. 96, proposes "rabble" and would emend the following lines to read:

As kings with rebels, Mun; our right prevails.  
Why, tho' Lluellen is a mighty man,  
We'll have good Robin Hood and Little John,  
The Friar, and the fair Maid Marian.

- 1528 *rule*] Dyce's emendation to "rabble" leaves the clause without a verb. *gleaves*] A variant spelling of "glaives," weapons consisting of a blade attached to a long handle. *books*] Welsh hooks; hooked knives used as weapons.
- 1529 *nookes*] Remote part of the country.
- 1539 *dole*] Dealing out of blows.
- 1543 *Robin Hood*] B appends this note by Nicholson: "Strike out *Hood*. This restores metre and sense. It is an ironically jocular allusion to feeding the bird so called."
- 1554 *Cantreds*] A hundred, or district containing a hundred townships (adapted from Welsh "cant," hundred, and "tref," town, place).
- 1567 *present express*] The MS probably had "prest," an abbreviation for

- "present." This word evidently influenced the form taken by *express* in Q.
- 1572 *of cuntries weaving*] There seems to be something missing here. C suggests adding "his" or "this"; B queries "Cambria's" for *cuntries*.
- 1617 *Phebus daughter*] So far as I can discover, all Phoebus' progeny were male.
- 1639 Dyce takes *Gloster* as a speech ascription and splits the line between the two characters. This change may well be correct, since it does no injury to the meaning and improves the meter.
- 1644 SD *Read the paper Rice*] Rice ap Meredith is not a character in this scene. C suggests that the actor who played the role doubled here as a member of the King's train. Another possibility is that Rice is the name of an actor, but the only recorded player of that name would have been too young to appear on the stage by 1593. Both these suggested solutions imply that the printer's copy had been used in the theater. This problem and its textual implications are discussed above, p. 40.
- 1651 SD This peculiar sentence is printed exactly as it appears in the quarto. It is unlikely that it could be a part of the dialogue, nor does the rhyme seem to demand any explication. Cf. ll. 1687-88, where a Latin quotation is similarly printed in the early texts.
- 1654 *wood*] Mad.
- 1657 *milt*] I.e., melt.
- 1665 *purplde*] Cf. *Arraignement of Paris*, l. 101.
- 1682 *kinde*] Nature.
- 1687-88 The quotation is from Horace, *Epistles* 1. 2.69. C notes: "This well known quotation seems inserted as an observation by the poet, and not like a previous line from the same author [l. 169] put into the mouth of one of his characters." However, the present edition follows Dyce and B in giving the line to the Mayoress. The quotation is a pertinent one for her to recall as she attributes the Queen's pride to her childhood background in Spain.
- 1709 *wemen*] Previous editors have read "we men" here and "women" in l. 1711, but the meaning becomes even more difficult with the emendation. The Q reading, retained here, is evidently correct. Edmund refers in jest to the possibility that in spite of Gloucester's confidence, a woman might "rise early" enough to beguile Joan of her man, for women can be smooth talkers given the proper occasion.
- 1719 *sol la mi fa ti*] This emendation seems most consonant with the graphic possibilities of the quarto text. Moore Smith would read "sol, law, fa, do!," and Deighton, p. 97, proposes "sol, la, mi, fa! to't! raise your British voices lustily." Cf. *Two Gentlemen*, IV.2.25: "Let's tune, and to it lustily awhile." According to Deighton, *solace* is intended as a pun on "sol, la." Such a pun may be meant in *Roister Doister*, l. 499 (MSR). B suggests "brawl" for *brave*, which would be a satisfactory

reading and make the error easy to account for; however, *brave* may be correct, meaning 'display to its best advantage.'

1722 *crouds* . . . *heads*] Fiddles and drums.

1724 *budget*] Wallet, pouch. The Friar means, 'I have scented a purse.'

1725 *clarkly*] Cleverly.

1726 *stand*, . . . *purses*] The highwayman's equivalent of "Hand's up!"

1733 *SD lappet*] Overlapping part of a garment.

1735 *Catoes Pueriles*] The farmer is confused. He had no doubt read *Sententiae Pueriles*, a book of aphorisms collected by Leonard Culman and used commonly as a textbook in the lower forms of grammar school; he was likewise surely familiar with the *Disticha Moralia*, ascribed to Dionysius Cato, which was another textbook. But the quotation from Juvenal, *Satires* 10.22, is in neither of these collections. The farmer probably recalled it from a third text, William Lily's *Short Introduction of Grammar*; in the 1611 edition, the earliest available to me, it appears as an illustration on sig. N1<sup>r</sup>. The attribution of the quotation to the book of aphorisms may well be Peele's error, but the farmer's reference to Cato's *Pueriles* is a little joke, the point of which would have been evident to any member of the audience who had gone as far as the second form of grammar school. See T. W. Baldwin, *William Shakespeare's Small Latin & Lesse Greeke*, 2 vols. (Urbana, Ill., 1944), 1, 591-593.

1741 *ruffelers*] "A Ruffeler goeth wyth a weapon to seeke service, saying he hath bene a Servitor in the wars, and beggeth for his reliefe. But his chiefest trade is to robbe poore wayfaring men and market women" (John Awdeley, *The Fraternytye of Vacabondes*, 1561, in *The Rogues and Vagabonds of Shakespeare's Youth*, ed. E. Viles, London, 1880, p. 3).

1743 *sice ace*] A throw of six and one in dice.

1746 *Sounds*] I.e., zounds, a corruption of "God's wounds."

1761 *S. Thomas a Waterings*] The Farmer, assuming that nonsense will satisfy the obviously mad Friar, uses as if it were the name of a saint the name of the watering place on the Old Kent Road between London and Canterbury, so-called because the Canterbury pilgrims regularly stopped there (cf. Chaucer, "Prologue," ll. 825-826). The Farmer's joke had added zest for Peele's audience, who knew it also as a place of execution.

1773 *pursenets*] Bag-shaped nets, the mouths of which could be drawn together with cords; used especially for catching rabbits or as fishing nets.

1781 *trust to*] Look forward to.

1784 *Taber*] Small drum, used in accompaniment to the pipe or trumpet.

1787 *coile*] Noisy disturbance.

1788 *crosse*] Coin, so-called from the figure of a cross frequently stamped on coins.

- 1817 *Legem pone*] A cant term for ready money. "The origin of the phrase is doubtless this: The first psalm for the twenty-fifth day of the month has the title *Legem pone*, being the first words of the Latin version. This psalm is the fifth portion of the 119th psalm, and, being constantly used on the first great pay day of the year, March 25, was easily connected with the idea of payment" (Nares, 2, 504).
- 1841 *messengers*] Dyce's emendation "passengers" is a better reading, particularly since that word is used in l. 1845, but it seems unlikely that "passengers" would be misread *messengers*. Cf. l. 1850.
- 1849 *money worth*] Anything recognized as equivalent to money.
- 1855 *vaile*] Lower.
- 1864 *eare*] Nicholson proposes to read "lower," and Deighton, p. 98, suggests "carve," meaning 'do homage, show deference to,' with a pun on "lop," but the Q reading is probably a phonetic spelling of "heir."
- 1874 *sue*] I.e., pursue. This form, frequently used by Spenser, provides a suitable meaning with a minimum of tampering with the Q reading.
- 1908 *assure thee*] Make yourself secure. Taking *assure* as a reflexive verb obviates the necessity for emending *and* to "that," as earlier editors have done.
- 1913 *mountainous*] Previous editors emend to "monstrous," because Peele later uses the phrase *monstrous treason* (l. 2149). *Mountainous*, however, besides being easily misread "mountains," fits the sense admirably; it means 'enormous,' as in *Coriolanus*, II.3.125-128:

What custom wills, in all things should we do't,  
The dust on antique time would lie unswept,  
And mountainous error be too highly heap'd  
For truth to o'er-peer.

Of some interest here is "this your momtanish inhumanity" in l. 263 of the Hand D addition to *Sir Thomas More* (MSR); in his edition, Dyce emends "momtanish" to "mountanish."

- 1933 *present*] Q *represent* is not impossible; *OED* includes the definition 'present (someone) to or before a person,' but shows no parallels for construction with *with*. The emendation is supported by the repetition of the formula in l. 1941.
- 1945 *Rochet*] A linen vestment similar to a surplice, usually worn by bishops and abbots.
- 1958 *Sir David . . . cuntreymen*] This cordial remark is certainly out of place, for David revealed his true allegiance in the preceding scene. The error is probably inadvertent, but it may indicate reworking of the play with consequent rearrangement of scenes. See above, pp. 34-36.
- 1961 *marshall this manie*] Take charge of this company.
- 1964 SD *After the showe*] Evidently the company dances here.
- 1973 *make . . . rights*] C Dyce B read "makes . . . right"; they substitute

a semi-colon for Q colon at end of l. 1972, so that "makes" and "sends" become parallel verbs. The resulting syntax may be smoother, but Peele probably intended *make* as an infinitive parallel with *to rouse* (l. 1970). The Q punctuation is no obstacle to this interpretation, for the colon frequently separates closely related syntactical elements. The emendation to "right" is evidently to provide a rhyme for *despight*, but there is no reason to assume that the lines should rhyme, even though *right : despight* occurs at ll. 1983-84. For *rodde* see note to l. 295.

1980 *with a witnes*] With a vengeance.

1986 *this*] I.e., the halter which Versses brought from Balliol.

1990 *broughst*] See note to l. 569.

1998 *bid . . . bace*] Challenge; the term is from the boy's game of Prisoner's Base.

2000 *that thou sendst*] There seems to be some error here. Previous editors have queried "seest" or "scorn'st"; B emends to "that 'a sends."

2003 *warlicke . . . ensignes*] Cf. below, *Battle of Alcazar*, l. 1040.

2005 *hold of prooffe*] Invulnerable stronghold.

2010 One wonders whether this line with its curious repetition of the previous one might contain a buried stage direction.

2011 See ll. 2661 ff. and note to ll. 2649 ff.

2014 *route*] Disorderly crowd.

2017 *repaste*] It is unnecessary to emend to "repose," which is, of course the meaning of *repaste*. *OED* gives only meanings connected with taking food, but notes that it may mean 'repose' in Collins, *Defense of Bishop Ely* (1617), l. 1.29: "John rested and repasted himselfe on his sacred bosome." Cf. *Appius and Virginia*, l. 235 (MSR): "Goe play and repast thee man." Spenser frequently uses "repaste," a substantive, to mean 'repose.'

2023 *Perswaded*] *OED* gives no exact parallels, but the meaning is akin to "persuade," vb., 1c, 'assured, certain.' Dyce 3 and B emend to "prepar'd."

2038 *Jerem*] I.e., Jerome (as in Q2).

2040 *jolly*] Arrogant, overbearing.

2045 This line is probably an error, picked up by the compositor from the next line but one; however, Peele so frequently repeats himself in this manner that one cannot be sure the text is wrong.

2046 *to himselfe*] Cf. 1 *Tamburlaine*, l. 1.108: "To hear the king thus threaten like himself."

2057 *gave*] One would ordinarily expect "give," a verb parallel with *greete*, but Peele apparently uses the past tense as a parallel with *bad*.

2058 *give*] As Balioll's repetition shows, Peele must have intended the present tense here. The compositor was probably misled by *gave* in the previous line.

2062 *quite*] I.e., requite.

- 2070 SD *Then . . . Trumpets*] This stage direction has no place in the present state of the text; we do not know what proclamation or what walls are referred to. See above, p. 27.
- 2105 *John Bearmber*] No such person appears in chronicles or records. Sir Nicholas Brembre, or Brembar, held various city posts; he was Lord Mayor in 1377 and again from 1383-85; he was executed in 1388.
- 2114 *Bridge*] Lluellen was slain in a skirmish at Orewin Bridge in 1282. *Q Bride* is not, as some have suggested, a reference to Elinor, Lluellen's fiancée.
- 2127 *while*] Until.
- 2133 *Hale*] Drag. *buskie*] Bushy.
- 2136 *trew servant*] The Q reading *trew master servant* may be accounted for in either of two ways. Perhaps the scribe wrote *master* and then corrected himself by writing *servant*; the compositor set up both. An alternate solution is the assumption that *master* is picked up by error from the following line, where *my* for "thy" appears.
- 2137 ff. The allusion here is to the knightly custom of hanging up arms in a church at the end of an active career. Similar action figures in the plot of Beaumont and Fletcher's *Loyal Subject* (I.3, and IV.5), and there is a passing allusion in Webster's *White Divel*, V.1.47-48.
- 2140 *rachell*] I.e., rake-hell (scoundrel).
- 2143 *frozen*] Deighton, p. 99, suggests "proven"; B interprets *frozen* as 'numbed with age.'
- 2146 SD The stage direction is puzzling. How does *a take his leave of Cambria*? The exit seems to be an error, for the Friar is on stage at l. 2161, and there is no re-entry for him; B marks a new scene here, but the fact that Mortimer finds the Friar on his knees indicates that the action is continuous. Probably the stage business should be something like this: about l. 2146, after hanging up his pikestaff, the Friar sinks to his knees at one side of the stage and in that position sings his song; he then remains on his knees until he is noticed by Mortimer at l. 2161.
- 2169 *the fier*] The Q reading, which apparently resulted from confusing *frier* and *fier*, might possibly be explained as 'do not act too much like a friar, but stay close at hand,' but the Friar's next speech makes this interpretation unlikely. There is a reminiscence, no doubt intentional, of l. 319. The *fier* here is Elinor.
- 2176 ff. This scene was obviously intended to be verse, but again one concludes that Peele, though writing iambics, was not adhering strictly to the pentameter line. The rhythmic pattern is well indicated, though not completely, by the punctuation, and it would perhaps be more indicative of the author's intent to discard the blank verse mold altogether and print the lines as marked by commas.
- 2184 *fact*] Deed.
- 2216 *in lue of*] In exchange for.

- 2219 *heifer like*] Dyce's emendation presents no insuperable graphic difficulty and completes the figure of the sturdy neck bearing the yoke, recalling a former cattle image from the opening of scene 13 (ll. 2025 ff.).
- 2247 *flig*] Fledge; having fully developed feathers, hence fit for flying. The omission of an exeunt at the end of this scene and a similar omission of an entry for the King at the beginning of scene 21 suggest that the episode which follows here was interpolated into the middle of a scene. See above, p. 26.
- 2247 SD There is confusion in the Q stage direction. The Potter does not appear, nor is his wife called *Potters* *hive*; *hive* is a variant of "hithe" (see note on *Queenhith*, p. 171).
- 2256 *slops*] Large baggy trousers.
- 2263 *cross legd*] Sitting cross-legged is sometimes considered a sign of good luck (V. S. Lean, *Collectanea*, Bristol, 1902, 2, 42), but it also has a suggestion of ill fortune, deriving from classical accounts of Juno's sitting cross-legged to cause Alcmena difficulty in childbirth (Lean, 2, 111, and passim; Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 9.285 ff.; Pliny, *Natural History* 28.17). A reference, evidently to the good-luck superstition, appears in *The Old Wives' Tale*, l. 997.
- 2287 *if case*] In case (cf. *OED*, "case," sb<sup>1</sup>, 11).
- 2303 SD The omission of an entry for the King here suggests that this scene has been lopped from another (probably 19), in which the messengers entered to the King. There is further confusion, for the messengers bring word of Lluellen's death and say nothing about David. See above, pp. 26-27.
- 2318 *Sir Thomas Spencer*] No such person appears in the chronicles. Sir Hugh Spenser was named Chief Justice and Keeper of the Tower in 1263, and Grafton (p. 176) gives him a leading part in the siege of Dunbar, 1296. Sir John Spenser was a commander in the siege of Edinburgh in the same year.
- 2323 SD This is another of those puzzling stage directions which appear in unusual number in this play. What did Edmund read? Perhaps he simply took the letter from the King and read it silently, but the following dialogue suggests that he read aloud something like a part of the ballad on the fate of the Queen.
- 2340 *appal*] Cf. 1 *Tamburlaine*, l.2.1: "let not this appal your thoughts."
- 2361 SD *hurdle*] A sledge used for transporting traitors through the street to execution.
- 2389 *Empalled*] I.e., impaled (encircled).
- 2391 *jacke*] Jacket.
- 2397 SD *Elinor in Childe-bed*] "The meaning of this stage direction seems to be that the scene discloses Elinor in the bed, as she had been seen before, just after the Prince of Wales was born" (Collier). For further discussion see above, p. 28.

- 2400 Cf. 1 *Tamburlaine*, II.7.8: "And death arrest the organ of my voice."  
 2401 *learne*] Equivalent here to "teach."  
 2402 *repeat*] A similar error occurs in l. 2610, where *espected* is emended to *repeated*.  
 2405 *prison of my soule*] I.e. the body. Cf. below, *Battle of Alcazar*, ll. 1221-22, 1316-17.  
 2406 *holpe thee*] There is evidently some corruption here. For *thee* C reads "here" and Dyce "there," but the error seems to be in the verb. B queries "hale me," and Deighton, p. 99, would read: "world of dreadful foes bold them to fight." The latter reading makes sense, but seems unlikely to result in the corruption of the text.  
 2409-11 The corruption in these lines evidently results from the compositor's repetition of two words; in such instances it is virtually impossible to recover the correct reading. In l. 2409, C reads "Next by a war"; Dyce and B, "Next of a war." In l. 2410, B reads "that" for *thee*. In l. 2411, for *Conscience* C and Dyce read "condition" and B "confusion," but these guesses do little to make the passage intelligible.  
 2413-14 Exactly what is meant by the *warriors crosse* is not clear. Why should he resist in the absence of danger, and even so, what has this to do with Elinor, who is in very real danger of death? Nares defines *superdewe* as 'overcome,' citing Hall but giving no quotations. Deighton, p. 100, would read "physician's" for *precious*, and cites *Merry Wives*, II.1.5, where "precisian" is generally emended to "physician." However, here *precious* in the sense of 'religious,' or as it is used in "precious body" and "precious blood," is satisfactory, even though a contrast between earthly, or physician's, assistance and that of heaven might be better.  
 2417 ff. In spite of some obvious corruption and untidy syntax, the general meaning of this extended simile is clear. As shepherds, from their safe position on the mountain, seeing a sailor on a helpless ship wringing his hands instead of plying his pump, may blame him for not working sensibly to save his life, so Joan, who does not suffer the pangs of guilt, may give the Queen "sage" advice that cannot be followed. In other words, it is easy to be philosophical about someone else's toothache. *Rule* is a form of "revel" (see H. Kökeritz, "Shakespeare's *night-rule*," *Language*, 18, 1942, 40-44).  
 2419 *comes springing*] C reads "upspringing"; Dyce and B emend to "conspiring," but the Q reading is not impossible.  
 2420 *craised*] Broken, damaged. *OED* cites other examples of "crazed ships."  
 2421 *tackes*] Ropes, or other means of securing various sails; *OED* quotes a technical description from *Seaman's Grammar* (1627). Here *tackes* is a general term for 'tackle' or 'rigging.'  
 2422 C and Dyce read: "How pale, like yellow flowers, the captain stands." B reads: "How pale, like mallow flowers, the master stands."

Something like “captain” or “master” seems necessary, but the changes for *Vallowe* are not much help. Perhaps we should read “fallow,” ‘withered.’ However, the line is so strange that one wonders whether it may not be composed of elements from two or more in the original. The punctuation is obviously wrong, but there is no point in repunctuating the passage until the verbal corruption is cleared up.

2424 *plaie*] Ply.

2426 *servile*] Deighton, p. 101, would emend to “civil,” in the sense of ‘decorously comforting, platitudinous,’ which certainly seems to be the idea the author is trying to convey.

2443–44 The Queen’s speech is extremely corrupt. The *external-internall* emendations seem necessary for the sense.

2444 *consecrate*] Evidently an error, but it is difficult to account for the corruption if any of the proposed remedies are correct: “conceit of” (C); “conjecture” (Mitford, Dyce 3); “conceive ye” (B); “config’rate” (Moore Smith).

2446 *Fain*] This reading seems superior to “faints” (C) or “faint” (Dyce 3 B).

2447 *hindred*] Perhaps should have a trisyllabic spelling: “hindered.” The alternative to reading *is* for *a* is the unsatisfactory interpretation of the line as an exclamation, a participial phrase dependent upon *soule*.

2448 *showres*] A variant spelling of “shores.” Earlier editors emend Q *howres* to “bowers.”

2449 Dyce 3 and B omit *Elinor* to regularize the meter; Dyce also emends *greatest* to “greater.”

2450 *guilt*] This reading seems closest graphically to Q *quiet*, which is certainly wrong. Previous editors suggest “grief.”

2456 *annoynted*] Previous editors emend to “enjoin’d,” which may be correct, but Q probably means ‘By our annointment as priests we are sworn to secrecy.’

2465 *for why*] Because.

2466 *loose*] Q *losse* is probably a simple error by the compositor.

2467 *that*] As the passage stands, *that* is superfluous; perhaps a line has been omitted.

2479–80 These lines are apparently meant to be verse, although the second is irregular. We should perhaps read with previous editors “weakenes of your wittes,” but I suspect a line is missing.

2482 *rent*] Rend, split.

2497–98 The passage would be more intelligible if these two lines were transposed, but l. 2497 may be understood as parenthetical. Cf. ll. 2577–78.

2509 *Piropes*] In modern mineralogy the pyrope is a deep red variety of garnet, but in the sixteenth century the name was applied also to rubies, carbuncles, or any fiery red stone.

2514 *eies . . . braine*] “Caesar, The surname of the house of the Julians

in Rome, eyther because the fyrste of that stocke was cutte out of his mothers wombe, or for that he had *Caesios oculos*, terrible glisterynge eyes, or (as some wyll) gray eyes" (Cooper, sig. E2).

2516 *Melisaes*] Previous editors emend to "Medusa's," and indeed Peele speaks of "*Phorcias ympe* [i.e. Medusa] that was so tricke and fayre" (*Arraignment of Paris*, l. 278) before she became a Gorgon. However, Servius, in his commentary on *Aeneid* 1.430, tells the story of Melissa. Ceres divulged to her some sacred secrets with the warning that she was to tell no one. Some of Melissa's countrywomen attempted to pry the secrets from her, and, when she refused to tell, they killed her. The wrathful Ceres sent a plague upon the country, and from the body of Melissa came bees. The Greek word for bee is μέλισσα. Columella, *De re rustica*, 9. 2.1-3, refers to "mulier pulcherrima specie Melissa, quam Juppiter in apem convertit." Cooper (sig. N6<sup>v</sup>) refers to another legend when he identifies Melissa as "a woman, who with hir sister *Amalthea* nouryshed Jupiter."

2517 *discreet*] Previous editors emend to "deceit," which gives good sense and allows the corruption to be easily explained, but Q is not necessarily wrong. The King contrasts *discreet desire* and *lawles lust* as the two incompatibles which he would not expect to find at once present in the beautiful Queen. The parallel alliteration of adjective and noun supports this interpretation.

2519 Cf. *Edward II*, IV.6.96: "Hence feigned weeds! unfeigned are my woes."

2522 *suspect*] Suspicion.

2532 *discure*] An obsolete form of "discover"; the Q error is the common misreading of *o* for *u* and *d* for *o*. Cf. l. 495, where *recure*, for "recover," is misprinted in Q as *record*.

2533 The Q text probably resulted from the compositor's attempt to carry the entire line in his head at once.

2543 The poet presumably is Virgil, whose description of Avernus is the most famous, but Jealousy is not among the terrible creatures who throng before the gates to the Virgilian underworld (*Aeneid* 6.276 ff.). The cavern which figures at this point in the *Aeneid* is inhabited by the Cumaean Sibyl (6.42, 98), who because of her habit of "*obscuris vera involvens*" might be described as "daughter of darkenes." Spenser places a male Gealosie at the entrance to Pluto's realm (*Faerie Queene*, II. 7.22).

2545 *Damde*] This seems closest graphically to the erroneous Q reading. Previous editors emend to "dread."

2555 *rested*] I.e., wrested. Absence of a verb suggests that a line is missing, perhaps after l. 2556.

2558-60 There is some confusion here, but the author is probably at fault. Joan complains that she is greeted with *unacquainted tearmes* before the King speaks to her.

2564 *me*] Misreading of *in* for "me" occurs also at l. 1116 and possibly at l. 1119.

2565 ff. The circumlocution used by the King to inform Joan of her base birth leads to logical confusion if one takes the dialogue realistically. The King speaks of *this deceite*, as if Joan knew all about it, and indeed she desires to be freed from suspicion as if she were aware of his meaning. Since the audience has heard the Queen's confession and is, as it were, privy to the deceit, it is perhaps unwise to inquire too carefully into the logic of the dialogue.

2569 *Joynes*] I.e., enjoins.

2576-78 There have been a number of attempts to improve these lines. Mitford proposed transposing ll. 2577-78, a suggestion generally approved by his successors. For l. 2578 he wished to read "And leave their plighted liege in prince's laps." Moore Smith proposed "And leave their pleasing siege in prince's laps." Deighton's emendations are adopted for this edition, but *siege* means not 'seat, place, position,' as he defined it, but 'excrement,' as in *The Tempest*, II.2.107: "How cam'st thou to be the siege of this mooncalf? Can he vent Trinculos?" *Fleating* (for "fleeting") is adopted to give sense to the line, but I suspect *Q pleating* stands for "playing," "cheating," or something that at least conveys the idea of infidelity. "Bleating" has been suggested; it has the merit of association with the great cuckold joke referred to in *horne* (l. 2577), but it is not clear why the straying lady, rather than her horn-mad mate, should bleat.

2581 *profession*] We expect "confession," and so previous editions read, but the source of the corruption is not clear.

2582 *which sorrowed*] There is no need to emend to "with sorrow," as previous editors do. *Hard* is a phonetic spelling of "heard."

2588-91 Ariosto, *Orlando Furioso*. XX.131.7-8, and X.15.1-2. C gives all four lines to Joan; Dyce and B give all four to the King. While the text doesn't make much sense as it stands, I cannot see that changing the speakers helps much. The first couplet is certainly incongruous here. In Ariosto's poem, Marphisa, disguised as a warrior and riding in company with an old hag, encounters Zerbino, who taunts the supposed knight about his ugly companion. Marphisa challenges him, and they agree that the loser must accompany the hag. Zerbino is overcome, and there follows a comic three-line figure describing how he bends to his fate like the tired steed controlled by spur and bit:

E Zerbin ch' ubbligato si conosce,  
L' orrecchie abbassa, come vinto e stanco  
Destrier c' ha in bocca il fren, gli sproni al fianco.

Peele evidently means to emphasize the idea of the individual bowing to inevitable destiny, but the tone of the original is broadly comic and quite out of place with the serious situation in Peele's play. Moreover,

- one wonders if even those members of the audience who knew Ariosto could possibly have understood the curtailed quotation.
- 2599 *wants*] Previous editors emend to "wont," but this seems to be the comparatively rare inflected form of the present tense in a variant spelling.
- 2602 *your*] Dyce 3 and B emend to "you," but this seems to be a parallel construction with the previous line, in which *your* is certainly correct.
- 2604 *your*] Previous editors emend to "you," but the resulting construction is difficult to explain. Joan is now addressing herself, saying, 'Draw your curled locks from this cursed head.'
- 2605 *her*] The change to third person is confusing, but not unique in Peele (cf. ll. 2610-11); *her* might be explained as the old form of "their" (Franz, § 228).
- 2610 *repeated*] See l. 2402 and note.
- 2611 *her*] Dyce 3 and B emend to "thy," which may be preferable, but see note to l. 2605.
- 2617 *misse*] An apocopated form of "amiss."
- 2620 ff. This speech is discussed above, p. 28.
- 2621 *moane*] Although the Q *meane* might be the common dialect form, it is more likely an error of *e* for *o*; Peele ordinarily uses the normal form (cf. l. 2610).
- 2627 *needes*] To be pronounced as a dissyllable, thus obviating the necessity of emending to "need is" (C, Dyce 3) or "as needs I must bear mine" (B).
- 2632 *tried*] Apparently an error. Previous editions read "'tired"; Moore Smith suggests "pied." It is possible that *tried* is a variant of "triad."
- 2637 *worke*] Previous editors emend to "worth," which is acceptable, but Q is satisfactory if taken in the sense of 'conduct, good works.'
- 2643 *stature*] A frequent sixteenth-century variant of "statue."
- 2645 *chariest*] Dearest. Attributing the name of Charing Cross to the fact that a memorial to the "chariest" queen was erected there is evidently a folk etymology. Dyce cites a tradition that Charing Cross was so named because the body of the *chere reine* rested there. Actually, Charing is from OE "cierring," 'turning,' "referring to the great bend in the Thames near the place, or perhaps to a bend in the old Roman road that ran west from London" (Eilert Ekwall, *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names*, 3d ed., Oxford, 1947).
- 2647 *their*] I.e., there.
- 2648 *Purcivants*] Messengers.
- 2649-68 Previous editors emend *Sussex* to "success," obviously a change born of desperation; it would perhaps be better to read "Earl" for *all*, an emendation nearly as desperate. The message was sent to Mortimer in scene 21 (l. 2358). The next twenty lines present a mass of confusion and inconsistency that defy explanation. Obviously they do not fit at this point, for Balliol has already been captured and Elinor is dead.

There is inconsistency even within the lines themselves. Presumably the “signes of victorie” include Lluellen’s head, but the King replies that he is up in arms. Nor is it easy to find a place where this passage, in part or in full, might once have been appropriate. The revision of ll. 2661–66 appears at ll. 2014 ff.; this recension necessitated a change in locale, for here the party is apparently in London, but in the revised version they are in Wales. Considering only ll. 2654 ff. is somewhat more profitable. This passage might refer to a situation in which the court is at London; word comes that the Scots are rising, and news has already been received that the Welsh are rebelling. But the issue is clouded by the references to death in ll. 2656 and 2660, and possibly l. 2667. Whose death? Evidently not Elinor’s, for she is represented as about to accompany the war party. The references might be later additions, but it is difficult to see why anyone should attempt to revise these lines for introduction at a point where they are obviously inconsistent. Perhaps the death referred to is that of the Queen Mother, who is dropped from the extant text after the third scene, where she appears in the stage direction but does not speak. If her death is meant, there must have been some change in time sequence, for she died in 1291, a year after the death of Edward’s Queen. Confusion seems compounded with confusion to the utter rout of editorial rectification. Dyce 3 omits l. 2657, and both he and B omit ll. 2661–68, but this leaves the confusing references to Balliol’s threat. If one is to resort to surgery to effect a cure, he must be sure to get the entire tumor: ll. 2648–68; this kind of fearless cutting would at least make the scene intelligible. A possible explanation of the corruption is that the passage was never intended to be included; perhaps the author in the course of revision wrote on the verso of an old work sheet or a sheet containing excised material, and the compositor set up the wrong side of the leaf. However, l. 2648 and the stage direction at l. 2673 make this theory unlikely.

2672–73 *Ought* is a variant spelling of “oft.” Deighton, p. 103, noting the corruption in this passage, suggests that we read:

Pale death, alas, hath banished all thy pride  
Of wedlock-vows. How oft have I beheld  
Thy eyes, etc.

The inclusion of the stage direction at this point is surely wrong, but it comes with a grim, though unintentional humor. How it happened to be inserted here, unlike the songs the Sirens sang, seems beyond conjecture. The most startling point to be noted is that Peele’s “signature” indicates that surely here the compositor was working directly from the author’s manuscript.

2678 *reede*] I.e., red.

2683 *Niobe*] The *Q Nobe* may be an intentional spelling to indicate a dissyllable.

## APPENDIX

*The lamentable fall of Queene Elnor* is here reprinted, by permission, from the earliest extant copy, in the possession of The Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery, San Marino, California. The text, printed in black letter (with occasional use of roman type for titles and proper names), is in three columns on a single sheet. The first column has been mutilated, and missing passages, bracketed in the text, are supplied from a copy printed ca. 1720 by William Dicey, now in the possession of the Harvard University Library. The original is reproduced *literatim* except for standardization of type font, transcription of *j* and *v* for consonantal *i* and *u*, and correction of one obvious error (*deaven* for *heaven*, l. 115).

The lamentable fall of Queene Elnor, who for her pride and wickednesse, by Gods Judgment, sunke into the ground at Charing crosse, and rose up againe at Queene hive.

To the tune of, Gentle and Curteous.

When Edward was in England King  
the first of all that name:

Proud Elnor he made his Queene,  
a stately Spanish dame.

Whose wicked life and sinfull pride,  
through England did excell:

To daintie Dames and gallant Maides  
this Queene was knowne full well.

She was the first that did invent  
in Coaches brave to ride:

She was the first that brought this land  
the deadly sinne of pride.

No English Taylors heere could serve  
to make her rich attire:

But sent for Taylors into Spaine,  
to feede her vaine desire.

They brought in fashions strange and new  
with golden garments bright:

The Farthingales, and mighty Ruffes,  
with Gownes of rare delight.

[The London] Dames in Spanish pride,  
[Did flourish ev]ery where,

[Our English Men, li]ke Women then,  
[Did wear long lock]s of haire.

[Both Man and Child, both] maide & wife,  
[Were drown'd in Pride of] Spaine:

[And thought the Spanish Ta]ylors then,  
[Our English Men did stain]:

[Whereat the Queen did muc]h dispite,  
[To se]e our english-men

[In] vestures clad, as brav[e] to see  
as any Spaniard then.

She crav'd the King that every man  
that wore long lockes of haire,  
Might then be cut and powled all,  
or shaven very neare.

Whereat the King did seeme content,  
and soone thereto agreed:

And first commaunded that his owne,  
should then be cut with speed.

And after that to please his Queene,  
proclaymed through the land,

That every man that wore long haire,  
[S]hould powle him out of hand.

[But y]et this Spaniard not content,  
[To W]omen bore a spight:

[And the]n requested of the King  
[Against] all law and right:

50 [That ever]y woman-kind should have,  
[Their Right Br]east cut away:  
[And then with] burning Irons sear'd,  
[The Blood to st]aunch and stay.  
[King Edward] then perceiving well  
[Her Spite t]o women-kind.  
Devised soone by pollicie  
to turne her bloody minde.

He sent for burning Irons straight,  
all sparkling hot to see:  
And sayd, O Queene, come on thy way  
60 I will begin with thee.  
Which wordes did much displease the Queene  
that penance to begin:  
But askt him pardon on her knees,  
who gave her grace therein:  
But afterward she chaunst to passe  
along brave London streetes:  
Whereas the Maior of Londons wife,  
in stately sort she meetes.  
With musicke, mirth, and melodie,  
70 unto the Church that went:  
To give God thanks that to L. Maior  
a noble Sonne had sent.

It grieved much this spitefull Queene  
to see that any one  
Should so exceede in mirth and joy,  
except her selfe alone:  
For which she after did devise,  
within her bloody minde,  
And practisde still most secretly  
80 to kill the Lady kinde.

Unto Lord Maior of London then  
she sent her letters straight:

To send his Lady to the Court,  
upon her Grace to waight.  
But when the London Lady came,  
before proude Elnors face:  
She stript her from her rich array,  
and kept her vile and bace.

90 She sent her into Wales with speede,  
and kept her secret there:  
And usde her still more crueller  
then ever man did heare:  
She made her wash, she made her startch  
she made her drudge alway:  
She made her nurse up children small,  
and labour night and day.

100 But this contented not the Queene,  
but shew'd her more despight:  
She bound this Lady to a post  
at twelve a clocke at nyght:  
And as poore Lady she stood bound  
the Queene in angrie mood,  
Did set two Snakes unto her breasts,  
that suckt away her blood.

110 Thus died the Maior of Londons wif  
most greevous for to heare:  
Which made the Spaniard grow more proud  
as after shall appeare.  
The Wheate that dayly made her bred  
was boulded twentie times,  
The food that fed this stately Dame,  
was boylde in costly wines.

The water that did spring from ground  
she would not touch at all,  
But washt her handes with dew of heaven,  
that on sweete Roses fall:  
She bath'd her body many times,  
in fountaines filde with milke,

120

And every day did change attire,  
in costly median silke.

But comming then to London backe,  
within her Coach of golde:  
A tempest strange within the skies,  
this Queene did there behold.  
Out of Which storme she could not goe,  
but there remain'd a space,  
Foure horses could not stirre her coach  
a foote out of that place.

130

A judgement surely sent from heaven  
for shedding guiltlesse blood,  
Upon this sinfull Queene that slew  
the London Lady good:  
King Edward then, as wisdom wild  
accusde her for that deede:  
But she denied and wisht that God  
would send his wrath with speede,

140

If that upon so vile a thing,  
her hart did ever thinke,  
She wisht the ground might open wid[e]  
and therein she might sinke:  
With that at Charing crosse she sunke  
into the ground alive,  
And after rose with lyfe againe  
in London at Queene hive.

150

Where after that she languisht sore  
full twentie dayes in paine:  
At last confest the Ladies blood,  
her guiltie handes did staine,  
And likewise how that by a Fryer  
she had a base borne childe,  
Whose sinfull lust and wickednes  
her mariage bed defilde.

Thus have you heard the fall of pride,  
a just reward of sinne:

For those that wil forswear themselves  
 Gods vengeance dayly winne.  
 Beware of Pride you London dames,  
 both wives and maydens all,  
 Beare this imprinted in your minde,  
 that Pride will have a fall.

160

FINIS.

Printed at London for William Blackwall.

The Harvard copy has a prose introduction, evidently written by the printer, which is interesting in its revelation of the reaction of readers some 250 years nearer than we to the ballad and its possible origin. A portion of the introduction follows:

It may here, probably, be ask'd, why I did not omit printing a Ballad, which, in every Circumstance, differs so very widely from History? But I thought I could not in Justice do it; for there are Numbers of People who know nothing more of the Transactions of former Times, than what they meet with in Old Songs: And when I saw so fair a Reputation so foully blasted, I thought it my Duty to vindicate it. Nor do I think that our Poet had a Design only to preach, or to blacken Characters; I look upon this Song as a severe Satyr, written in the Days of Queen *Mary* the First. Nor is this barely a Conjecture; for every Circumstance which I have advanc'd, to prove that it could not be meant of Queen *Eleanor*, seems to confirm its Relation to *Queen Mary*. As, The Invention of Coaches, which is recorded to have been in her Time; and her Jealousy of a Woman who was brought to Bed; for Queen *Mary* never had a Child, notwithstanding it had been given out in all Churches that she was big, and Publick Prayers made for her safe Delivery. Nor can it be thought absurd, that she should be called a *Spaniard*; for she was Daughter to *Catherine*, an *Infanta* of *Spain*, and (after her Coronation) marry'd to *Philip*, Prince of *Spain*. I do not know what particular Fact is meant by her Usage of the Mayor of *London's* Wife; but I am apt to think it spoken of her cruelties in general: And her being

swallow'd up, seems to be a Threat of the Poet's, that unless she amended, Vengeance would overtake her. A Plan for this Satyr being thus form'd, I am apt to think our Poet look'd back for a *Spanish* Queen, that he might the better disguise his Satyr, and not lay himself so open to Censure, as he would otherwise have been: And, probably, *Eleanor* was the first *Spanish* Princess whose Name he met with.

# THE BATTLE OF ALCAZAR



## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The nature of an editor's work puts him under a heavy debt of gratitude: many editors and bibliographers and historians have contributed to our understanding of this play. My bibliography and footnotes make only conventional acknowledgments. Anyone interested in *The Battle of Alcazar* owes special thanks to two men:

W. W. Greg's detailed and patient reconstruction of the theatrical plot of the play is the foundation of this edition, and I must thank the Council of the Malone Society for permission to build on Greg's work.

Many years ago, when I began work, I naturally wrote to the man who had already published so much about Peele and *Alcazar*: Thorleif Larsen. He responded with astonishing generosity, not only sending me valuable copies of scarce books and editions, reprints of his many articles, and photostats, but at every turn counseling with suggestions and warnings as my manuscripts went back and forth in the mail. It was a heartening experience for an apprentice. Much that I did in the first draft for this edition must have disappointed Larsen, although he was kind enough to praise where he could. I cannot be sure that this second handling of the material is better, but I owe whatever is valuable in it to his many letters of advice and encouragement; whatever is disappointing must be chalked up against me.

Work of this sort can be done only in great libraries and I was fortunate to work in two of the most generous and efficient libraries in America. I want to express my gratitude to many on the staffs of both the Yale and the Folger libraries. I wish also to thank Georgetown University for a grant of money that allowed me to

complete this work, and the Ford Foundation for help with costs of publication.

J. Y.

*Washington, D.C.*

*September 1960*

# ABBREVIATIONS AND SHORT TITLES

<i>Abridgements</i>	W. W. Greg. <i>Two Elizabethan Stage Abridgements: The Battle of Alcazar &amp; Orlando Furioso</i> , Oxford, 1922.
C.T.S.	<i>Famous Historye of the life and death of Capitaine Thomas Stukeley</i> , London, 1605. Also ed. by John Farmer, Students' Facsimile Edition. Amersham, 1911 and 1913.
Castries	Henri de Castries, ed., <i>Les Sources inédites de l'Histoire du Maroc. Première Série—Dynastie Saadienne, 1530–1600</i> , Archives et Bibliothèques de France, 3 vols., Paris, 1905. Archives . . . d'Angleterre, 2 vols., 1918. Archives . . . d'Espagne, 1921.
Dyce 2	Alexander Dyce, ed., <i>The Works of George Peele</i> , 2d ed., London, Vols. 1, 2, 1829; Vol. 3, 1839.
Dyce 3	Third ed., 1861.
Dyce+	Indicates concurrence of all Dyce editions.
MLN	<i>Modern Language Notes</i> .
NQ	<i>Notes and Queries</i> .
Polemon	John Polemon, <i>The Second part of the booke of Battailles</i> , London, 1587.
School of Shakspere	Richard Simpson, <i>The School of Shakspere</i> , 2 vols., New York, 1878.
Trans. R.S.C.	<i>Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada</i> .

# INTRODUCTION

## I. AUTHORSHIP

The single early edition of *The Battle of Alcazar* is the quarto of 1594. Its full title reads: *The Battell of Alcazar, fought in Barbarie, betweene Sebastian king of Portugall, and Abdelmelec king of Marocco. With the death of Captaine Stukeley*. Although the quarto does not give the author's name, the play is accepted as Peele's.

Malone was apparently the first to record the ascription when on the title page of his copy<sup>1</sup> he wrote: "This play, I believe, was written by George Peele." In his copy of *The Famous History of Captain Thomas Stukeley*,<sup>2</sup> he again noted that Peele was "perhaps the author of *The Battle of Alcazar*."

Malone died in 1812. His conjecture was announced by Philip Bliss in *The London Magazine* in 1824.<sup>3</sup> Dyce, familiar with the researches of both Malone and Bliss, admitted the play to the Peele canon in his first edition of Peele's works in 1828, and in his two subsequent editions, 1829 and 1861. Dyce was followed by Bullen, who printed the play in his edition of Peele in 1888.

No one has yet discovered upon what evidence Malone based his conjecture. Larsen said it was apparently a "brilliant guess."<sup>4</sup> In any event, it was Dyce who first pointed out that six lines of the Bishop's speech (ll. 425-430) appear over Peele's name in Allot's

1. Now in the Bodleian (Malone 163).

2. Also in the Bodleian (Malone 186).

3. Vol. 10 (1824), 62-64. The article was not signed, but Thorleif Larsen demonstrated that Bliss was the author. See "The Growth of the Peele Canon," *The Library*, Ser. 4, 11 (1930), 308.

4. "The Canon of Peele's Works," *MP*, 26 (1928), 191.

*Englands Parnassus* (1600).<sup>5</sup> This anthology does not have impeccable authority, for some of the selections are wrongly assigned.<sup>6</sup> "In this instance, however," as Larsen observed, "we have no reason to suppose that the editor was wrong,"<sup>7</sup> and no one has questioned Allot's ascription of the six lines to Peele.

For whatever they are worth (little, I think), several so-called parallel passages have been detected in Peele's other plays and poems.<sup>8</sup> The play has been industriously tested for mannerisms of diction, imagery, and style that are presumably characteristic of Peele's work: some of Peele's "favorite words" have been discovered in the play;<sup>9</sup> certainly there are lots of classical allusions in *Alcazar*,<sup>10</sup> and Peele (like most of his literary fellows) put his knowledge of classical mythology to work; there is considerable alliteration in the play and noticeable rhetorical repetition<sup>11</sup>—as

5. *Peele*, 1 (London, 1829), xxvii; ed. 1861, p. 340. See also the quotation numbered 198 under "Country, common-weale," in *Englands Parnassus*, ed. C. Crawford (Oxford, 1913), and notes, pp. 398–399.

6. See Allot, p. 170, under "Parents," where l. 143 of Greene's *Orlando Furioso* is ascribed to Peele, and p. 190 under "Reuenge," where two lines from *Alcazar* are assigned to Dekker; and Greg's notes in the Malone Society Collections, 1, Pt. II (Oxford, 1908), 102–106. See also Franklin B. Williams, "Notes on *Englands Parnassus*," *MLN*, 52 (1937), 402–405, and John Crow, "Marlowe Yields to Jervis Markham," *TLS* (Jan. 4, 1947), p. 12.

7. Above (n. 4), p. 192.

8. By Dyce, *Peele*, 1 (1828), xxv; and again by Richard Lämmerhirt, *George Peele. Untersuchungen über sein Leben und seine Werke* (Rostok, 1882), pp. 21–22.

9. J. M. Robertson, *Did Shakespeare Write "Titus Andronicus"?* (London, 1905), pp. 68, 79; A. M. Sampley, "'Verbal Tests' for Peele's Plays," *SP*, 30 (1933), 473–496; and M. T. Kwit, "The Plays of George Peele" (dissertation, Cornell, 1929), pp. 15–17, 19, 25.

10. Cheffaud, p. 63; and Erna Landsberg, *Der Stil in George Peeles sicheren und zweifelhaften dramatischen Werken* (Breslau, 1910), p. 80.

11. Landsberg, pp. 83–96; and F. G. Hubbard, "Repetition and Parallelism in the Earlier Elizabethan Drama," *PMLA*, 20 (1905), 361. Hubbard's tests were wider than most; he claimed to have found a mannerism of repetition with an added epithet only in the works of Peele, in *Lochrine*, and in 1 *Henry VI*. See also H. C. Hart's intro. to the Arden ed. of 2 *Henry VI* (London, 1931), pp. xxviii–xxix. Of the 1,452 lines in *Alcazar*, fully one-seventh employ alliteration. Almost every critic of Peele's plays has remarked on the frequency of this characteristic in his work.

frequently in Peele's plays. The weight of all this patient work, however, does not prove that in any one clue we have Peele's very "sign manual."<sup>12</sup>

The same skepticism—that the results are not finally certain—must qualify the various metrical tests that have been made,<sup>13</sup> and the tests for "plot structure."<sup>14</sup> To that, it may be added that Peele—like the author of *Alcazar*—exhibited with extraordinary zeal the ordinary English prejudice against Roman popes and the kings of Spain.<sup>15</sup>

There is then, to summarize, Allot's word for six lines, Malone's belief that Peele wrote the play, and a mass of earnest research work which often points to Peele but which, for all I know, might point to other playwrights if other plays were so "tested." Perhaps the most significant fact is that in all his labor no one has ever questioned the ascription. The present editors, then, admit *The Battle of Alcazar* to the canon of Peele's plays.

12. The phrase was used by Fleay to describe "sandy plaines" (l. 1406). When he was ridiculed, he came back with a rejoinder that shows the weakness of this kind of evidence: "As Oxford scholars, who should know something of logic, have sneered at my use of this phrase in detecting Peele's work, on the ground that any author might call a plain sandy, I may here say once for all, that my point is that Peele, whether in or out of place, persists in calling plains sandy, which is a very different matter": *Biographical Chronicle*, 2 (London, 1891), p. 153. The scholars' logic was better than Fleay's; the plains of *Alcazar* were sandy if ever plains were.

13. By Emil Penner, *Metrische Untersuchungen zu George Peele*, in Herrig's *Archiv für des Studium der neueren Sprachen und Litteraturen*, 85 (1890), 276-278, 292. Lämmerhirt (p. 51) has applied similar metrical tests to only three of Peele's plays, *Alcazar*, *David and Bethsabe*, and *The Arraignment*.

14. See A. M. Sampley, "Plot Structure in Peele's Plays as a Test of Authorship," *PMLA*, 51 (1936), 701. Does the extreme variety of Peele's four known plots allow us to speak of "Peele's usual mannër" of construction?

15. H. Dugdale Sykes epitomized the statements of many students of Peele's work: "Now the one dramatist of the period who, above all others, shows this intensely national, anti-foreign, anti-papal spirit is Peele": *Sidelights on Shakespeare* (Stratford, 1919), p. 105.

## 2. DATE OF COMPOSITION

Although *The Battle of Alcazar* was not printed until 1594, general opinion fixes the date of composition in 1588 or 1589. There is good evidence to support this conjecture.

There is no entry of the play in the Stationers' Register, but the title page declares that *Alcazar* had been "sundrie times plaid by the Lord high Admirall his seruants." Henslowe's records of the Admiral's company begin in May 1594 but contain no reference to *Alcazar*. It must therefore be assumed that the play was performed "sundrie times" in some earlier season. Before 1594, as W. W. Greg remarked, the Admiral's company seems to have acted in the provinces only for some three or four years.<sup>1</sup> Although it is possible that the touring company had *Alcazar* in its repertory, it is not likely that the actors should take a new play to the provinces. Since, further, the printed play is clearly an abridged version, it is generally supposed that *Alcazar* was originally performed before the Admiral's men left London in 1591, and that the text was cut to accommodate a small company on the road.<sup>2</sup> The declaration on the title page does not of course necessarily apply to the truncated version of the quarto text; the statement may refer to performances of the play in London before 1591, and before the original text was cut.

Some writers have suggested, however, that Henslowe may have referred to *The Battle of Alcazar* by some other title. His *Diary*, for instance, records that a play he called "mvlamvlluco" was performed as an old play by Lord Strange's men fourteen times between February 20, 1591/2 and January 20, 1592/3.<sup>3</sup> Malone, ap-

1. *Abridgements* (Oxford, 1922), pp. 10, 17-20.

2. See H. M. Dowling, "The Date and Order of Peele's Plays," *NQ*, 164 (1933), 167; and Greg, *Abridgements*, pp. 10, 13-14. Long ago Dowling's dating of *Alcazar* and *Edward I* was anticipated by A. W. Ward, *English Dramatic Literature*, 1 (New York, 1899), 368.

3. See *Diary*, 1, 13-15 (fols. 7-8). Henslowe also spelled the name "mvlomvrco," "mvlo mvllocco," etc. According to Sir Edmund Chambers, the Admiral's men were amalgamated with Strange's men from 1589 to 1594: *Elizabethan Stage*, 2 (4 vols. Oxford, 1923), 136. The association, by no means a simple one, has been discussed by Greg, who concluded: "I do

parently, first suggested that these entries in Henslowe's *Diary* might refer to Peele's play.<sup>4</sup> Later scholars, including Dyce, Bullen, Ward, and Cheffaud, accepted the theory;<sup>5</sup> but Chambers hesitated to identify "mvlamvlluco" with *Alcazar*,<sup>6</sup> and Greg argued against the theory with convincing reasons:

Although "Muly Molocco" is another name for Abdelmelec, one of the important characters in the play, he is called "Muly Molocco" only twice in *The Battle of Alcazar* and his role is certainly not the most prominent one in the play. Moreover, the Moorish sultan Abdelmelec was almost always called "Muly Molocco" in a large body of contemporary literature, including the play called *The Famous History of Captain Thomas Stukeley*.<sup>7</sup> The subject of Muly Molocco and his death was a popular one in the last decades of the sixteenth century, and Richard Simpson persuasively argued that the *Stukeley* play is a "hash" of earlier material about the Moorish king and the English freebooter.<sup>8</sup> If Simpson was right, it is likely that in the *Stukeley* play, not in *The Battle of Alcazar*, "we must look for whatever may survive of Henslowe's *Muly Molocco*." *Muly Molocco* may have been a rival of *Alcazar*.<sup>9</sup>

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not think that the allusion, on the title-page of *Alcazar*, to the play having been acted by the Admiral's men can possibly refer to a performance by Strange's company during the years 1590-4, whatever the actual relation of the two bodies may have been" (*Abridgements*, p. 20).

4. *Shakespeare*, ed. J. Boswell, 3 (London, 1821), 297.

5. See Dyce, 1 (1829), xxvii; Bullen, 1, xxxvii; Ward, *English Dramatic Literature*, 1, 370; and Cheffaud, p. 66.

6. *Elizabethan Stage*, 3, 460.

7. The name "Muly Molocco" must have been far more familiar than "Abdelmelec." In a letter written immediately after the battle, he is referred to by his personal physician as "Mullie Molloque": *State Papers, Foreign. Elizabeth. 1578-1579* (London, 1903), p. 164. In *A Dolorous Discourse* (1579), sig. A6<sup>v</sup>, he is called "Mulla Maluca." In *The Famous History of Captaine Thomas Stukeley*, sigs. F4<sup>v</sup>-G1, he is called "Molucco" and "Mullucco"; in Teixeira's *Adventure Admirable* and its English translation, *The Strangest Adventure* (1601), p. 12, "Mulley Maluco." Many other examples could be given. Perhaps the most famous account of "Moley Moluch, King of Fez," is the story of his death told in Montaigne's essay *Against Slothfulness* (1595). "Maula" (or Muley), the imperial title in Morocco, means "lord."

8. *School of Shakspeare*, 1 (New York, 1878), 140-142.

9. *Abridgements*, p. 11. Another play that Henslowe spelled "stewtley"

It has also been suggested that Henslowe may have referred to *Alcazar* by the name "mahomett." *Mahomet* was acted as an old play eight times between August 14, 1594, and February 5 of the following year.<sup>10</sup> Greg suggested that *Mahomet* might "quite reasonably" have been given as the title of *Alcazar*, "since Muly Mahamet was certainly regarded as its hero."<sup>11</sup> I don't think that the treacherous Moor is really the hero, though certainly he has the second largest role in the version that has come down to us,<sup>12</sup> and the role Edward Alleyn chose to play. There remains, however, one great difficulty in identifying either "mvlamvlluco" or "mahomett" with Peele's play: both the quarto and the playhouse document called the "plot" bear the title *The Battle of Alcazar*, and there is no evidence that the play was known by a nickname. Until it can be explained why *Alcazar* should be called by any other name, as Greg observed, "it does not appear possible to attach much weight to the most plausible identifications."<sup>13</sup>

To reject the identification of these plays with *Alcazar* does not affect the question of the original date of Peele's play, for both *Muly Molocco* and *Mahomet* were, like *Alcazar*, old plays in 1594. Fortunately, there is better evidence on the question of date.

Many critics have agreed in finding a reference to the play in Peele's *Farewell to Norris and Drake* (1589), lines 20-24:

Bid Theaters and proude Tragaedians,  
Bid Mahomets Poo, and mightie Tamburlaine,

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(apparently a corruption of *Stukley*) ran from December 11, 1596, to June 27, 1597. See *Diary*, fols. 22<sup>v</sup>, 25<sup>v</sup>-27. As Greg wrote, it is "hardly possible to connect this with *Alcazar*, but it shows the popularity of the subject: there is most likely some relation between it and the extant *Captain Thomas Stukeley*" (*Abridgements*, p. 12).

10. See *Diary*, pp. 18-21 (fols. 9<sup>v</sup>-11).

11. *Abridgements*, p. 12. Henslowe's "mahomett" has also been identified with Peele's lost play, *The Turkish Mahomet and Hyrin the faire Greeke*. See Ward, *English Dramatic Literature*, 1, 374, and Horne, *Life and Minor Works* (Vol. 1 of the present edition), pp. 77 n., 87, 124.

12. Of the 1,452 lines in the quarto text, Sebastian has 223 lines; Muly Mahamet, 210; Abdelmelec, 181; and Stukley, 132.

13. *Abridgements*, p. 12. The principal source of the play was entitled *The Battaile of Alcazar*, and the Presenter underscores the title in his first speech: "And call this warre *The Battell of Alcazar*" (I. Ind. 53).

King Charlemaine, Tom Stukeley and the rest  
Adiewe . . .

All the allusions have not yet been satisfactorily explained,<sup>14</sup> but this much is clear: In the poem Peele recites the pleasures of London to which the departing soldiers must bid adieu; among these are the plays which were then to be seen in the playhouses. In the reference to "Tom Stukeley" does not Peele advertise his own play? For certainly the English adventurer would be the most familiar character in his play and Peele is giving a list not of titles but of popular dramatic roles, of "tragedians." The reference to Stukley was apparently intended, also, to remind Norris and Drake of another English soldier who had made a big splash in an earlier "Portuguese affair."

There is further evidence that *Alcazar* and the poem of farewell were written about the same time. Dowling was definite in his assertion that "Peele used material from this play in his 'Farewell' to Drake and Norris, so the play must be dated before 18 April 1589, when the expedition to which he referred sailed." His judgment was based on six "parallel passages" from the *Farewell*: these he considered more than a striking coincidence, since the poem contains only seventy-six lines. It is, in any event, evident that both the play and the poem sprang from the same impulse, that both were inspired by interest in contemporary Portuguese and Spanish affairs. Stukley's death at Alcazar, ten years before the Armada, deflected a blow intended for England. The death of Sebastian in that battle led to civil disturbance in which England championed the claims of Don Antonio to the Portuguese throne, which Philip seized by force. The ill-starred expedition of Norris and Drake was in fact planned soon after the defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588. Both events created interest in Spanish-Portuguese affairs and reawakened interest in the fateful battle of Alcazar, which had in a sense originated the chain of events that culminated in Norris' expedition. Both the battle and the expedition seem to have struck Peele as happy subjects for a patriot: both offered the opportunity to declaim nobly for England and to rowel Spain. In both the poem

14. See a discussion of the allusion to "Mahomets Poo" in Samuel C. Chew's *The Crescent and the Rose* (New York, 1937), pp. 483-485.

and the play, these patriotic opportunities are exploited with obvious zest.

There are still other reasons for supposing that the play was written soon after the defeat of the Spanish Armada. An allusion is pretty clear in Sebastian's speech, ll. 686-688:

The wallowing Ocean hems her round about,  
Whose raging flouds do swallow up her foes,  
And on the rocks their ships in peeces split.

The suggestion that these lines may represent a later revision is hardly probable, since the play was certainly written after the publication of John Polemon's *Second booke of Battailles* in 1587, and Polemon's account of "The Battaile of Alcazar" is the principal source of Peele's play.

The legitimate conclusion seems to be that *Alcazar* was written shortly after the defeat of the Armada in 1588. An earlier date is unlikely, since the play clearly shows the influence of Marlowe's *Tamburlaine*. "We can hardly err in concluding," wrote Ward more than a half-century ago, that Peele seized upon the subject of *Alcazar* "in order to rival Marlowe's *Tamburlaine* in its own vein." Peele's extravagant characters seem to have been patterned on Marlowe's hero. Something of Tamburlaine's resolution and drive is seen in Sebastian, especially in his speech to the council before the battle (ll. 1064-1086). Like the Scythian shepherd, English Stukley aspires to "the sweet fruition of an earthly crown." He frequently expresses his aspirations in language almost as melodramatic as Tamburlaine's. Sometimes the declamatory speeches of Abdelmelec and the Moor echo the very diction of Marlowe's play.

The genuinely pervasive influence of *Tamburlaine* has been carefully illustrated by Cheffaud in his study of *Alcazar*. Peele shared Marlowe's taste for the exotic, for the pomp of war and the color of Eastern courts, imperial robes, banners waving in the wind, the splendor of ambassadorial trains, the customs of Turkish bassas and janissaries "fortunate in war." In both one sees the same love of pageantry and sensational effects. Something, too, of Marlowe's taste for the barbaric can be seen in *Alcazar*, especially in the scene at Sebastian's court, when the Moor's ambassador, like Mucius Scaevola, thrusts his hand into the flaming torch to prove the verac-

ity of his master. Marlowe's hero "cuts his arm" to give his sons a lesson in nerve. Many other passages might be cited to illustrate the unmistakable influence of Marlowe's example.

It is generally supposed that the two parts of *Tamburlaine* must have been written in 1587 and 1588. If Sebastian's speech does indeed refer to the defeat of the Spanish Armada, the play must have been written after July 1588. If the allusion to Tom Stukley in the *Farewell* is a reference to Peele's play, it must be dated before February 23, 1588/9, when the poem was registered.

### 3. SOURCES

#### A. THE MAIN PLOT

The battle of Alcazar—remote as it seemed—jolted the course of politics in Europe. There in the desert of Barbary, on the fourth of August 1578, Sebastian, the young king of Portugal, lost his life; his army, recruited from an exhausted kingdom, was slaughtered. Because Sebastian died without issue, his scepter passed to the feeble hands of his great-uncle Don Henry, the "Cardinal King," and immediately the question of succession arose, for the sixty-eight year old Cardinal was the last legitimate heir of the House of Viseu. Chief among the claimants for the succession were Antonio, the Prior of Crato, and Philip II, king of Spain. Don Antonio's claims were championed by England, in the person of a special ambassador, Edward Walton. Philip's claims, with greater decisiveness, were urged by the Duke of Alba, who assembled an army on the frontier of Portugal and Spain. Henry died in January 1580, and Antonio was proclaimed king on June 20. Seven days later the Spanish army crossed the frontier, and in December of that year Philip was king of Portugal. Antonio fled to England with the hope that Elizabeth and Burghley would send him back with an expedition to the Azores; but Elizabeth hesitated to take open measures against her old enemy. For the moment, Philip held what he had grabbed; the act marked the ruin of the proud Lusitanian empire and the unhappy union of the crowns of Portugal and Spain.

That this union was destined to last only sixty years no contemporary observer could foresee. The aggression, however, created immediate fear in the state councils of Europe, particularly in Eng-

land. How far would this thrust carry Spain? What kingdom would be attacked next? These and other disturbing questions could be answered only with uneasy predictions, but certain news of the fatal battle could be had, and these essential details soon circulated widely throughout Europe: <sup>1</sup>

In the sixteenth century the princes of the Saadi dynasty ruled in the “kingdoms” of Fez and Morocco. The founder of that dynasty was a Turk, Moulay Mohammed el-Kaïm bi amer Allah—called “Muly Xarif,” that is, *Sherif*, by Peele and the earliest historians. This “Sherif” left his native land, crossed “all Egypt,” and subdued various Berber tribes in the neighborhood of Fez about 1509. He was succeeded by his son, Moulay Mohammed ech-Cheikh (called *Muly Mahamet Xequé* by Peele), who ruled from 1518 to 1557. Before his death, this second prince of the dynasty established a tanistry-like law of succession. That is, his eldest son would inherit the crown, but he would in turn be succeeded by the next eldest brother, not by his own son. Thus all the brothers might wear the crown. Of concern to us are only four brothers: Abdallah el-Ghalib bi Allah (Peele’s *Muly Abdallas*) who ruled from 1557 to 1574, Abd el-Moumen (Peele’s *Abdelmunen*), Abd el-Malek (whom Peele sometimes called *Abdelmelec* and sometimes *Muly Molocco*), and Ahmed el-Mansour (Peele’s *Muly Mahamet Seth*). Abdallah violated the “perfect law” of succession. Following the practice of Turkish dynasts, he simply ordered the murder of his brothers to assure succession to his son, Mohammed el-Mesloukh (Peele’s villain, *Muly Mahamet*). Two of the princes, Abd el-Moumen and Abd el-Malek, escaped, but those who remained were “with monstrous cruelty” beheaded in their tents—except the young Ahmed who was spared because the king “contemned” his brother’s “childish years.” Mohammed was accepted as the Prince of Fez and sole heir to his father’s kingdoms, to which he succeeded

1. In the following account, details of chronology and the spellings of proper names are based on the genealogical table and the notes of Henri de Castries, *Les Sources inédites de l’Histoire du Maroc, première série, Dynastie Saadienne, 1530–1660*, Archives et Bibliothèques de France (Paris, 1905), 1, 382–383, 438–505. The story itself follows a contemporary account of “The Battaile of Alcazar” (1587), translated by John Polemon, discussed below.

in 1574. Meanwhile Abd el-Malek, who had gone to Constantinople, distinguished himself in the service of the Grand Turk. Abd el-Moumen, however, "was so simple witted" that he returned to Tremissen, where Mohammed sent "three cut throate villains for to dispatch him out of the way." When this news was brought to Constantinople, Amurat III granted Turkish support to help Abd el-Malek regain his father's throne, and there followed a period of civil war between Abd el-Malek and his nephew for the throne of Barbary. After Abd el-Malek had routed the forces of his nephew in 1575, Mohammed called upon the king of Portugal for help.

As Abd el-Malek himself wrote to the young king, it was neither just nor reasonable for Sebastian to favor one Moor against another in this particular cause, in which Portugal had nothing to gain.<sup>2</sup> John III of Portugal (1521-57) had abandoned some of his African strongholds because they were not worth maintaining, but Sebastian, ambitious to be Christ's Champion against Islam, rose to the bait when Mohammed requested aid. The Portuguese poets, among them Camoens, encouraged the zealot in his visionary "Crusade."<sup>3</sup> Philip II and many Portuguese noblemen tried to make the

2. The French text of this letter was printed, with commentary, by A. Berbrugger in *Revue Africaine*, 10 (1866), 451-472; this text is his translation of "la copie espagnole manuscrite et contemporaine, que figure parmi les documents contenus dans le volume 1686 de la bibliothèque du Gouvernement-General." De Castries, pp. 383-393, published (1) the text of an Italian copy of the letter, made in the 17th century; (2) the text of a Spanish copy; and (3) an incomplete French translation of the 16th century. See also a reference to an English copy in the *Historical Manuscripts Commission*, Thirteenth Report, Appendix, Pt. II, *The Manuscripts of his Grace the Duke of Portland*, 2, 15.

3. This, at least, is the hard judgment of most historians. See R. F. Burton, *Camoens* (London, 1881), 1, 350-352; E. Prestage, *Chivalry* (New York, 1928), pp. 164-165; and H. V. Livermore, *History of Portugal* (Cambridge, 1947), pp. 248, 253-254. It is well to weigh the judgment of historians against the elegies written in Sebastian's honor by contemporary poets. Diogo Bernardes (ca. 1530-1600) accompanied the Portuguese expedition as official poet. See his two elegies that express sorrow for the *jornada infelice*: *Diogo Bernardes Obras Completas* (Lisboa, 1946), 3, 146-160. In the same volume see Fernando de Herrera's poem, "A los que murieron en Africa con el rei don Sebastian," pp. 217-218, and Barahona de Soto's elegiac poem, "A la Perdida del Rei Don Sebastian," pp. 211-216. See also

young king see that no real benefit was to be gained by this *Jornada*; but despite such counsel of caution, Sebastian recruited his unwilling subjects and hired mercenaries in Germany and in Spain. By accident the madcap English adventurer Thomas Stukley and 600 Italian soldiers put into port at Lisbon in April 1578, and were "persuaded" to join the African expedition. (Englishmen, of course, knew that Stukley's original plans were to invade Ireland; for Englishmen the battle of Alcazar had a special interest.) Finally, in June 1578 Sebastian set sail with a force of about 28,000 men.<sup>4</sup> At Tangier he joined Moulay Mohammed and his scraggly outlaws. Abd el-Malek, although he was fatally ill, was thus forced to meet the threat. It must be said that he did everything in his power to avoid battle, and to persuade Sebastian to return home, for he realized that the boy had been misled by foolish ambitions and by the lies of Mohammed, who flattered Sebastian into believing that Abd el-Malek's army would revolt once the Portuguese were in the field. Abd el-Malek foresaw the ruin that would follow if they joined battle, for the Portuguese army was inexperienced and weakened by the terrible desert heat. After a number of preliminary maneuvers, however, both armies were jockeyed into a position which forced the showdown, and there on the hot plains, in fact quite some distance from El-Ksar el-Kebir, the four-hour battle raged. It was frequently asserted that less than fifty of the Portuguese soldiers escaped death or captivity. In the holocaust fell Abd el-Malek (who was not wounded, but overtaken by the "palsey"), his nephew Mohammed, and Sebastian; their death, the "fall of three kings," captured the imagination of men almost to our own day. Ahmed el-Mansour, who fought at Alcazar, succeeded his brother to the throne and kept it during the remaining quarter of Elizabeth's reign. He too died in 1603.

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Camoens' famous sonnet on Sebastian in Burton's trans., *The Lyrics* (London, 1884), 1, 255.

4. The figures vary enormously in all the historical accounts, early or late. Whetstone in *The English Myrror* (1586) said that Sebastian had "15000. fighting men." The author of *A Dolorous Discourse* (1579) said he had "40000. in all." Burton spoke of the king's "17,000 men or 24,000, including 6,000 to 7,000 mercenaries." See *Camoens*, 1, 356-357. Livermore (p. 259) estimated that Sebastian's force was about "15,500 foot and 1,500 horse" plus 9,000 camp followers!

In the decade that separated the disastrous desert brawl from the defeat of the Armada, there appeared a large body of popular literature about the catastrophe. First of all, there were eyewitness accounts of the battle written by Portuguese and Spanish survivors. These were translated into Latin or into the native tongues of Italy, France, Germany, and England. In time, these "histories" were followed by more imaginative but hardly more vivid tracts and broadside accounts.<sup>5</sup>

Besides this printed literature widely known when Peele presented his play, because the desert debacle was still within recent

5. The earliest accounts that have survived are *Les Voyages et Conquestes des Roys de Portugal*, Paris, 1578, which included the first account of the battle to be printed; *Portugallische Schlacht*, Leipzig, 1578; and Frey Luis Nieto's *Relacion de las Guerras de Berberia*, which remained in manuscript until 1891. Nieto's account, however, was published by an anonymous French translator, who entitled his translation the *Histoire Veritable de dernieres guerres advenues en Barbarie*, Paris, 1579. This was in turn translated into Latin by Thomas Freigius: *Historia de Bello Africano*, Nuremberg, 1580. Freigius' text was in turn translated by John Polemon in his *Second part of the booke of Battailles*, London, 1587. "Conestaggio's" *Dell'Unione del Regno di Portogallo alla Corona di Castiglia* (Genoa, 1585) includes an account of the battle and the political turmoil that followed. The real author of this work was Juan de Silva, Ambassador of Philip II to the court of Sebastian; he was an eyewitness of the events described. It is not generally known to students of Peele's play that Luis Pereira Brandão described the battle of Alcazar in his epic poem, the *Elegiada* (1588). Brandão may have been present at the battle, but his account is written in conventional epic style. Camoens, as noted above, wrote a sonnet (number 346) on the death of Sebastian at Alcazar. In England, only two other early accounts have come down: *A Dolorous Discourse of a most terrible and bloudy Battel, fought in Barbarie* (London, 1579) and George Whetstone's *The English Myrror* (London, 1586), which describes the battle in the thirteenth chapter; but there were other tracts or ballads that have been lost. The Registers of the Stationers' Company refer to a ballad called *A briefe Rehersall of the bloodie Battell fought in Barbary* (See Arber's transcript, 2, 347). Another tract, called *Strange newes out of Affrick*, has not come down to us, but there is a reference to it in Gosson's *The Ephemerides of Phialo* (London, 1586), sig. Al. Montaigne added his famous portrait of Abdelmelec to the essay *Against Slothfulness* in 1595. For further details about these titles see the Bibliography, below, pp. 369-373. The ephemeral literature about Stukley will be discussed later.

memory, an even larger body of knowledge, growing rapidly into legend and generally familiar, must be presupposed. So the play, in a sense, was created out of a vast store of common knowledge that Peele shared with his contemporaries. Peele was particularly indebted, however, to a specific source.

Warner G. Rice discovered Peele's source: "The Battaile of Alcazar" in John Polemon's *The Second part of the booke of Battailes* (1587).<sup>6</sup> The full title of Polemon's translation reads: *The Battaile of Alcazar, fought in Barbarie, betwene Sebastian King of Portugall, and Abdelmelec the King of Marocco, the fourth of August 1578. Taken out of a namelesse Portugall auctor, translated into Latine by Thomas Freigins*. Freigius' translation, entitled *Historia de Bello Africano*, published in Nuremberg in 1581, was a close translation not of "a namelesse Portugall auctor" but of the anonymous French translation of the original Spanish account by Frey Luis Nieto. The French translation, called the *Histoire Veritable des dernieres guerres aduenues en Barbarie*, was published in 1579. Curiously, Nieto's original narration, the *Relacion de las Guerras de Berberia*, was the last to be published (it remained in manuscript until 1891), so it is hardly possible that Peele knew the Spanish text.<sup>7</sup> Polemon's English translation, the fourth link in this chain, Peele certainly knew.

Before Rice's article appeared in 1943, Polemon's translation was not known either to students of Moroccan history or to students of Peele's plays. Freigius' translation and its French original, however, were known.

Brinsley Nicholson, in 1875, was the first to call attention to Freigius' *Historia*: "As I had hoped to find, when I bought it some four years ago," Nicholson wrote, "it is the source whence Peele

6. Rice, "A Principal Source of *The Battle of Alcazar*," *MLN*, 58 (1943), 428-431.

7. The original manuscript of the *Relacion* remained in the National Library of Madrid, and was first printed in the *Colección de Documentos inéditos para la Historia de España*, 100 (Madrid, 1891), 411-502. Another contemporary manuscript copy of the *Relacion* is preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale. In 1905 Henri de Castries established the relationship between the various translations, but he did not know the English translation existed. See his *Histoire du Maroc*, Archives de France, 1, 395-405.

drew the greater part of his play; indeed, at times he merely copies.”<sup>8</sup> At that time, apparently, Nicholson did not know that any other translation existed, but sometime before 1888 he discovered the French translation and noted that there were a few “discrepancies” between it and Freigius’ account. These passages he excerpted and sent to Bullen, who published them in his introductory note to *The Battle of Alcazar*.<sup>9</sup>

Then in 1905, de Castries published the first volume of his noble edition of Moroccan documents in the archives and libraries of France, and established the relation of the Latin and French translations to the original Spanish account, which meanwhile had been published in 1891. Greg did not know de Castries’ work when in 1922 he published his study of the theatrical plot of *The Battle of Alcazar*; but he recognized that Freigius’ statement in the subtitle, *Ex Lusitano sermone*, pointed to a Portuguese or possibly Spanish original, and conjectured that a “further source” must be supposed, since the “pamphlet fails to mention some of the characters of the play.”<sup>10</sup> Greg had not seen Freigius’ translation, however; he quoted the French text throughout his study of the plot.

Following Greg, two students of Peele’s work gave some attention to the problem of sources. A. M. Sampley’s dissertation on Peele’s plays included a few notes on the sources of *Alcazar*, but these were limited to a knowledge of only those excerpts printed by Bullen in 1888.<sup>11</sup> Thorleif Larsen’s review of the historical background of Peele’s play<sup>12</sup> recognized both the *Historia* and the

8. NQ, Ser. 5, 3 (1875), 107. As Larsen pointed out, Nicholson erroneously thought that the author of the tract was the “Antonius Lusitanus” referred to, sig. D7<sup>v</sup>. This was the Prior of Crato, Don Antonio, who was proclaimed king of Portugal for a few months before Philip II seized the throne in 1580. See T. Larsen, “The Historical and Legendary Background of Peele’s ‘Battle of Alcazar,’” *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, 33 (1939), 187 n.

9. Bullen, *Peele*, I, 221–223.

10. Greg, *Abridgements*, p. 9 n.

11. Arthur M. Sampley, “Studies in the Canon of George Peele’s Plays” (dissertation, Austin, Texas, 1930), pp. 283–294.

12. *Trans. R.S.C.*, 33, 185–197. Larsen (p. 188) also pointed out the error of Langbaine’s statement (in *Momus*, 1687) that the plot of Peele’s play was derived from Peter Heylin’s *Cosmography*. This error was “carelessly copied by all the dramatic bibliographers from this date down to Reed,

*Histoire Veritable*, but concluded that "it is impossible to say" whether Peele used the French or the Latin translation.

Thus the question of Peele's sources remained a puzzle until Rice discovered that Peele "almost certainly" read the account of Alcazar by Polemon. The evidence that Peele read Polemon's translation is in fact conclusive, although Rice did not clearly isolate that evidence.

Rice based his claim on some dozen or more details found in the play and in the English chronicle of the battle of Alcazar, or in the accounts of other engagements described in the *Second booke of Battailes*. Since he did not state that his evidence was based on a comparison of the play with the three translations of Nieto's account, I made the comparison. The English, Latin, and French texts are faithful translations, with only a few differences in the reporting of details, numbers, dates, names. Still fewer of these are significant in a study of Peele's play, because Peele did not attempt to refashion the whole story of the chronicle. The comparison of the texts, however, clearly confirms Rice's assertion that Peele followed—as would be expected—the English account in the *Second booke of Battailes*.

One of the sure pieces of evidence Rice overlooked (although he quoted the passage—he omitted the clue). In the fourth act of *Alcazar*, the spy Celybin reports to Abdelmelec the strength of the Portuguese army. After rehearsing the numbers of men in that camp, he adds (ll. 1002–1003):

And fiteene hundred waggons full of stuffe  
For noble men, brought up in delicate.

This detail of the "fifteen hundred wagons" Peele could have found only in Polemon's translation, which reads (sig. U<sub>2</sub><sup>v</sup>): "And 1500. wagons full of mattes." Freigius' *Historia* reads (sig. C6<sup>v</sup>): "Mille & centum currus plenos stories." The French translation reads: "Unze cens vingt charretes." Nieto's original account reads: "Y mill ciento y veynte corros."<sup>13</sup> Peele, this time at least, was not

*Biogr. Dram.* 2 (1812), p. 87." The first version of Heylin's book, called the *Microcosmos*, did not appear until 1621, and in no version is the battle of Alcazar described with much detail.

13. See de Castries' edition of the *Histoire Veritable*, p. 475.

responsible for the exaggeration, but simply followed Polemon's report.

Another, less significant, detail which Rice ignored might be pointed out. In one of his speeches (ll. 118-119), Abdelmelec refers to

. . . our grandsire Muly Xarif  
With store of golde and treasure leaves Arabia.

In this allusion Peele followed Polemon, in whose account only do we read that Muly Xarif was "accompted in his countrie of *Mecha* in *Arabia*, the chief man of the Moores."<sup>14</sup> Granted, Peele need not have been indebted to Polemon for the knowledge that the holy city of the Moslems was in Arabia, but the fact remains that of the four prose histories, only the English translation makes the specific reference.

For Peele, Polemon's words really were a "source": as Rice has shown, "in uninspired moments" (and there were so many!) Peele followed the English prose narrative almost word for word. Polemon's account of the Portuguese forces reads:

In the meane time the king of *Portugal* beeing issued out of *Arzill*, and readie to march, mustered his armie, wherein (besides the thousand stipendaries, that he had left to keepe the fleete, and the two thousand that hee had sent to *Messaga*) he had foureteene thousand footmen, and two thousand horsmen, a great part armed.

Moreouer, there were three thousand pioners, and aboue a thousand cochmen, and almost an infinite number of drudges, slaues, Negroes, mulletters, horse boies, landresses, and those sweete wenches that the Frenchmen doe merrilie call the daughters of delight, for now the world is come to that, we thinke we cannot keepe wars without these snailes. So that all y<sup>t</sup> insauorie companie of baggage did exceede sixe and twentie thousand persons. He had also sixe and thirtie field peeces, and 1500. wagons full of mattes, vessel, and household stuffe onelie

14. *Second booke of Battailles*, sig. R3. Freigius (sig. A7) specified only *in patria Mechae*. The French translator wrote *la maison de Le Mecque*; Nieto, *la casa de Meca*. See de Castries, p. 438 n.

for noble men . . . And the greater parte of these forces had their wages sparingly and verie ill paide them, and were distressed with want, and many other ills, for now victuals beganne to faile, the which were so sparinglie distributed, that many died for hunger.<sup>15</sup>

How closely Peele followed the English translation can be seen in Celybin's speech (ll. 992–1003).

Other parallels could be added to the evidence that Rice assembled, especially Polemon's "order" of Abdelmelec's army, which was "cast into the forme of a semi-circle" (sig. X1<sup>v</sup>):

The right wing the Prince, the brother of *Abdelmelec* dyd leade, who had with him a thousand verie choice Harquebuziers on horsebacke noted. He had also ten thousand horsemen with speare and sheelde. The lefte wing of the new Moone, which held two thousand argolets, and tenne thousand horsemen with speare and sheeld. These did the Vizeroie *Mahamet Zareo* leade. The third battaile, which was the maine battaile, wherein king *Abdelmelec* stoode, was defenced with harquebuziers on foote. Then dyd the king followe, enuironed with his garde of two hundreth souldiours, that had forsworne the faith, who were all weaponed with halbardes. But he had in the battaile of succour twentie thousand horsemen diuided by two thousand in a troupe.

Peele was faithful to his source: see li. 1045 ff.

The *Second booke of Battailes* includes the accounts of eleven other battles, and it was from "The Battaile of Pescherias" (Lepanto) that Peele took the names of some minor characters: Hercules, Diego Lomis, and Pisano.

A catalogue of Peele's borrowings would be dull. Besides, Elizabethan playwrights were not much concerned with historical accuracy, and certainly not Peele, who in *Edward I* blithely juggled fact and prejudice as he pleased. There is much in *Alcazar* that has no source—for example, the three Moorish women, who figure in no historical account of the battle. Peele wove into the main plot,

15. *Second booke of Battailes*, sig. U2<sup>v</sup>. Rice quoted this parallel but omitted the detail of "1500. wagons."

moreover, two subplots for his English audiences. Polemon gave only the slightest hint for the story of Stukley's role in the fatal African *jornada*. The other minor plot, which concerns Sebastian's efforts to enlist the aid of Philip II, is quite contrary to the account of things in the *Second booke of Battailes*. These subplots will be discussed after a note on Peele's use of his principal source.

#### B. TREATMENT OF SOURCE MATERIAL

It is easy to discover where Peele found certain historical details in the *Second booke of Battailes*; but there are more important questions: With the history at hand, how did Peele mount the narration on the stage? What exigencies of the stage, what traditions, might have dictated the use of some material and necessitated the omission of other events? Since Peele followed not only the details of Polemon's narrative account but also his structural outline, how did he manage to build a drama out of it?

Peele was not a green playwright when he wrote *Alcazar*. He commanded an intimate technical knowledge of the stage; he understood the use of spectacular scenic effects as well as the handling of dramatic language; it is natural enough, therefore, to find that the action of Peele's play is more vivid than the narration in his source. But it comes as a surprise to find that in one instance at least the motivation of action is more persuasively conceived by the historian than by Peele. The discussion that follows will attempt to illustrate the measure of Peele's success and failure in re-working the chronicle for the English stage.

The first job was to acquaint his audience with the genealogy of these unfamiliar kings, and with the causes of war in remote Barbary. In the interest of dramatic structure, this much of history had to be comprehended by report. Peele used a Presenter, "a Portingall" as he is called in the plot—no doubt suggested by the "namelesse Portugall auctor" in the title of Polemon's account. However the Presenter may have been costumed, he serves in the conventional role of chorus. And Peele makes him work hard—almost as hard as the chorus in Shakespeare's *Henry V*. The Presenter's tone and viewpoint is European, not Moorish; he is practically to be identified with some eyewitness of the battle.

Better than any other, perhaps, the Induction scene of the first

act shows how Peele condensed the sprawling narration of Polemon's account and placed emphasis on those characters and events that had the greatest dramatic interest. By means of this scene, (1) initial emphasis was placed on Sebastian's role in the play, although the Portuguese king is not on stage until the fourth scene of the second act; (2) Muly Mahamet was at once pointed out as the villain; (3) a dumb show made vivid and simple the history of the Moor's bloody "passage to the crown"; and (4) the audience was promised the death of three kings.

Peele's Presenter proclaims that Sebastian is an "honorable and couragious king," but the protests are never justified by the young king's speeches or actions. Sebastian's honor is confused with ambition, with a "great desire," not unlike the bright honor that dazzled Hotspur. But the historical Sebastian that Peele knew was not a very likely hero. In the chronicle as in the play Sebastian always benefits by contrast with the "barbarous Moor," but suffers by contrast with Abdelmelec, whose courage was not fitful and headstrong but was governed by wisdom such as Sebastian never possessed. Polemon, or, to be exact, the Spanish historian, introduced the young king of Portugal with little enthusiasm: Sebastian, he wrote, was "by nature verie much giuen to loue of armes" and "sought for no other pleasure than by martiall matters."<sup>16</sup> At best, the Spanish historian could report that Sebastian was a "Prince of passing good nature." Peele tries to make more of the king: he is now "sweet Sebastian" and at once the "fierce and manly king of Portugall," with the largest role in the play; but there is no life in the figure.

Muly Mahamet was ready to step out of the *Second booke of Battailles* and onto the stage with little make-up. Throughout both

16. Sig. T3. Sebastian has been harshly judged, except possibly by the Portuguese historian Hieronymo de Mendoça in his *Jornada de Africa*. It may be suspected that the report of Sebastian in Nieto's original history was qualified by political expediency. Nieto's manuscript carries a dedication "A la S.C.R.M. del Rey don Felipe, Nuestro Senor." "Conestaggio" (Juan de Silva) credited the young king with more zeal and temerity than honor and courage. The opinion of recent historians has been expressed by H. V. Livermore: "The young knight-errant, whose vain, headstrong and ascetic spirit was to lead the nation to disaster, hunted, rode and prayed, all three to excess" (*History of Portugal*, p. 253).

the play and the historical account he is the black and bloody tyrant, clearly a usurper of his uncle's right to the throne. Edward Alleyn played the role; did he prefer it—and those ranting soliloquies? Peele makes him so bombastically wild at the very beginning of the play that there is no chance to grow, even in violence. It's hard to know what an experienced actor might have done with the role, but Muly Mahamet seems never to be more subtle than the black villain met with in Polemon's pages.

Abdelmelec is handled a little better. The Presenter's first description of the "braue Barbarian Lord" does not prepare the audience for the character who is, at last, to make the strongest claims to the role of hero. For this heroic concept of Abdelmelec, Peele had the authority of many passages in the prose account of the battle, where he found promising material to work with, for Polemon's portrait of Abdelmelec is a generous one, drawn with real sympathy.<sup>17</sup>

It was not enough to introduce his three main characters. The audience had to grasp the issues of civil war that lay behind the action about to begin. To help the Presenter in this task, Peele drew upon his experience as a director of shows, and his sense of pageantry. The problem would be a difficult one if the Presenter were to rehearse the long and confusing series of fratricides and broils that eventually brought Muly Mahamet to the throne; but Peele ignored several bloody passages about the guilt of the villain's father, his grandfather's troubled reign, and other events that had no relevance to his dramatic action. The Moor's ancestors and many of his brothers do not appear except perhaps as fleeting ghosts crying *Vindicta*. Peele focused attention on Muly Mahamet's guilt by means of the first dumb show. Here, without any of the mythological allegory that characterizes the other four shows, Muly Mahamet and his son enter with two of the tyrant's young brothers, "who betake them to their rest." The use of the stage bed for a brief scene was a simple and familiar device, an example of how Peele's familiarity with stage technique helped him to translate the

17. Peele's, however, is not as heroic as Montaigne's, upon which the popular conception of the Barbarian prince is based. Montaigne's essay was based on the account of Abdelmelec in "Conestaggio's" *Dell' Unione del Regno di Portogallo de Castiglia*.

prose chronicle about Alcazar into chronicle drama.<sup>18</sup> (Why the Moor's son is introduced here is difficult to see, for his role in these murders has no historical authority and no significance in the play that follows.)

In the second part of the dumb show the Moor's son does not enter again. Mahamet and the two murderers drag the Moor's uncle in, smother the young princes, and then strangle Abdelmunen. In the interest of easy representation by pantomime, Peele departed from the exact details of the historical account but was faithful in suggesting Mahamet's guilt. By his dumb show, Peele concentrated the chronology and the geography of these events in Polemon's narrative:

But *Muley Abdelmunen* that abode at *Argier*, was so simple witted, that by the persuasiõ of his brother *Abdallas* he returned again to *Tremissen*, whether *Muley Mahamet* sēt three cut throte villains for to dispatch him out of y<sup>e</sup> way. And it fel out to, as he wold haue it, for when these villains were come to *Tremissen*, they so well eied *Abdelmunen*, y<sup>t</sup> one fridaie as he was praying in the temple, they wounded him with an arow, of y<sup>e</sup> which wound he died within 2. daies / after, no auctor of the trecherie and villanous fact being knowen. . . . But when *Mahamet* had receaued newes of his Fathers death, he . . . dyd assume the dignitie royall, no man resisting nor impeaching him, except onely his brother *Muley Banacar*, whome as soon as he had ascended the seige royall, he bereft of lyfe. But an other brother *Muley Hazar*, he cast in prison. [sigs. S2<sup>v</sup>-S3]

The Presenter concludes his speech with a ranting reference to Nemesis and the Furies, a vein of allusive language that is used in all the induction speeches that follow and briefly refers to the final catastrophe in which

three bolde kings confounded in their height,  
Fell to the earth contending for a crowne.

18. For notes on the established use of the stage bed in scenes like this one, see Lily B. Campbell, *Scenes and Machines on the English Stage during the Renaissance* (Cambridge, 1923), pp. 138-139.

The moralizing minds of most of the early historians groped toward this very theme, this "modern morality," and strong suggestions of the theme in Polemon's account left their stamp on Peele's play.<sup>19</sup> Contemporary concepts of tragedy as the fall from high degree influenced the prose chronicler as well as the playwright.

Could the audience be expected to grasp much history from the Presenter's speech and the dumb show? The names of the Moorish characters must have confused Peele's audience, as they do us. In any event, one more attempt is made to put the issues straight in the first scene (ll. 113-130).

Peele, following Polemon, set this scene on the frontier of Barbary. Abdelmelec, returned from his exile at the court of the Grand Turk, now states his right to the throne as he reaches the boundaries of his native land. There to greet him are his younger brother, Muly Mahamet Seth; his Queen, Abdil Rayes; and Abdelmunen's widow, Rubin Archis. About him must be imagined as many soldiers and "distressed ladies" as the company could provide. Peele's language suggests a mightily host, though few characters speak, and certainly very few actors traditionally served to make a crowd on the Elizabethan stage. The statement of Abdelmelec's cause is promptly delivered:

That you may understand what armes we beare,  
What lawfull armes against our brothers sonne,  
In sight of heaven, even of mine honors worth,  
Truly I will deliver and discourse  
The summe of all.

19. Note the implications of this passage (sig. Y1<sup>v</sup>): "For what more sorrowful and horrible a sight could there bee, than to beholde three most mightie kings, that died in one battaile, lying together . . . and whereas all three did aspire to the kingsome of *Marocco*, none of them helde it. But this thing being shut from mans senses, and reserued to the hidden iudgement of Gods maiestie, I doe omit." Larsen (*Trans. R.S.C.*, 33, 1939, 186) has pointed out that the death of three kings was "duly set forth on the title-pages of most of the tracts inspired by the battle." There is no question that this theme aroused great interest at the time. See especially Whetstone's *English Myrror* (1586), pp. 84-85.

In the discourse that follows, Peele wanted to give the impression of Abdelmelec's honor, and to restate his claim to the throne. The passage illustrates how Peele reworked narration into theater, for the scene was almost wholly visualized anew by the playwright; and although the *Second booke of Battailes* contains all the facts<sup>20</sup> upon which Abdelmelec based his claim, Peele found little else there to help him.

The three women do not figure in the historical accounts of Alcazar. Peele manufactured the roles. Rubin Archis, the widow of Abdelmunen, is a raving madwoman with whom "furies and fiends" might very well conspire. Abdelmelec's queen is so roughly sketched that even Greg took her for a man, a follower of Abdelmelec.<sup>21</sup> The Moor's wife, Calypolis, contributes nothing except a perfunctory comment on the Moor's treachery (ll. 531-536). The excised text possibly accounts in part for our failure to visualize real women behind these names; but even so, there is no vitality or beauty in the women's speeches that have been preserved in the quarto text (and is it likely that the best lines were thrown away?) and not the faintest suggestion of a romantic theme. The flatness of the three roles is a little surprising, since Peele could manage charming women, as he proved in *The Arraignment of Paris* and in his descriptions of Bethsabe.

Once the issues of strife were drawn, Peele developed the rest of his main plot in four blocks, as he found the action described in the source. Although he imposed upon history a tighter unity of time and place, he followed Polemon's structural outline almost without exception. The act divisions of *Alcazar* have little structural significance. The real organization of the play, after the first scene, rests on four major divisions (although the outlines of the subplots sometimes cut across this basic organization): (1) the period of civil war between Abdelmelec and his nephew, ending in the victory of Abdelmelec and the Moor's exile in the wilderness of Mount Clario;

20. See sigs. R<sub>3</sub>-R<sub>3</sub><sup>v</sup>.

21. See the list of *dramatis personae* in the Malone Society reprint (1907), and Greg's article in *The Library*, Ser. 3, 10 (1919), 205. Both Dyce and Bullen took Abdil Reyes to be "an officer of some sort," as Greg later observed in *Abridgements* (1922), p. 83.

(2) the Moor's embassy to seek aid at the Portuguese court, and Sebastian's preparations for the expedition; (3) the meeting of the Portuguese forces with those of Muly Mahamet in Africa, and the immediate military movements before the battle; and (4) the battle of Alcazar.

Peele imposed a dramatically effective unity upon the scenes that portray the civil contest for the crown (I.2; II. Ind. 1,3). There are no references to specific dates in this part of the play, but one has the sense of uninterrupted action that might take place in a day or so in an indeterminate region around Fez. To achieve this sense of unbroken action, Peele freely condensed history and sharply reduced the area of his stage, for the actual historical events with which he had to deal were spread over a period of more than two years. The condensations need not be detailed, except to point out that he treated two civil battles as one,<sup>22</sup> which is described, not presented on the stage: "Sound an alarum within, and enter a messenger," who reports that the Moor's forces have been routed. Thus dramatic emphasis was reserved for the final battle near Alcazar.

Within this sequence of events, Peele fashioned the wild episode that shows Mahamet in exile. For this scene (II.3) he found only the slightest hints in Polemon; and out of the barest prose references to the Moor's flight to Mount Clario Peele fashioned the heady, ranting dialogue that was in later years so often ridiculed. There's only one possible "source" for that astonishing scene in which the Moor presents Calypolis with a gobbet of "raw flesh vpon his sworde":

Hold thee Calypolis, feed and faint no more,  
This flesh I forced from a lyonesse,  
Meate of a princesse, for a princesse meate.

Peele found all the other details for this sequence scattered throughout the pages of the *Second booke of Battailes*. The sum of all the prosaic parts, however, does not make the spectacle on the stage. Peele imposed at least a mechanical unity upon the sprawling historical narration. The unity of these scenes, and of the whole play, is superior to the disjointed plot of *Edward I*, although it must

22. See the *Second booke of Battailes*, sigs. S4<sup>v</sup>-T1<sup>v</sup>.

be admitted that the task was easier in plotting *Alcazar*, for the actual historical scope is narrower than the chronicle of events that lie behind *Edward I*.

The structure of *Alcazar* merits some admiration. In comparison with other early chronicle plays, including even *Tamburlaine* and *Edward II*, the plotting is unusually coherent. It has all the merits of an orderly, chronological narration—though for all that it is not dramatic. In those scenes for which Polemon did not provide material for violent action, the play tends to slacken into mere pageantry and spectacle. Nowhere can this slackness be better illustrated than in the scenes that introduce Sebastian's role into these far-off African affairs (II.4; III Ind.1). Polemon's account of the Moor's embassy to Sebastian's court was brief and matter-of-fact. Peele's picture of the pomp and excitement at court was wholly the creation of his imagination, influenced no doubt by the example of *Tamburlaine's* court, and *Bajazet's*. Polemon, for example, gave no suggestion of the terrible "trial by fire" in which the Moor's ambassadors thrust their hands into a "blazing brand" (II. 601–606):

We offer heere our hands into this flame,  
And as this flame doth fasten on this flesh,  
So from our soules we wish it may consume  
The heart of our great Lord and soveraigne  
Muly Mahamet king of Barbarie,  
If his intent agree not with his wordes.

The clue for this passage probably lies in current myth, in the vague concepts of atrocity and terror that Western Europeans associated with the Ottoman world, which loosely embraced the Moors of Northern Africa. Such were the tales of Othello to which Desdemona gave a greedy ear.

The military preparations for the *jornada* were based on Polemon's account. There, of course, the recruiting of troops was mentioned, but few specific details were given. Peele had to make specific assignments to Averro, Lewes de Silva, and Barceles, but was not successful in the more difficult task of individualizing these courtiers.

A passage of time must be supposed for the gathering of forces.<sup>23</sup> The Presenter is used to hurry along the action as much as possible, and to introduce a curious episode in the next scene. There is no mention in the source of the marriage negotiations between Sebastian and Philip for the hand of the Infanta. It was no secret, however, that Sebastian's people had expected their king to marry and to provide an heir to the throne. Various negotiations were actually carried on. It may be that Peele introduced this passage in the expectation that his audience would see its "moral," if he underscored sufficiently the fact that the unwed Sebastian left his throne to the spoil of a foreign tyrant. Or is this to exaggerate popular feeling about the marriage of Elizabeth at the time the play appeared? Whatever the reasons for this episode may have been, he was not successful in weaving it into the plot. It is, in fact, one of the baldest passages in the play when Sebastian thanks the Spanish ambassador for Philip's promised aid, and quite incidentally adds (ll. 793-796):

The offer of the holdes he makes  
Are not so precious in our account,  
As is the peerlesse dame whom we adore,  
His daughter . . .

This is the first and last time we hear about the "peerless dame," for Sebastian rushes on to "the famous warre."

The historical events now have a slightly quickened pace, and the next scenes of the play (III.2-4; IV Ind.1,2) develop without interruption the progress of the expedition from Lisbon to Africa, the meeting of the Portuguese army with the wretched Moorish forces of Muly Mahamet, and the military maneuvers that preceded the battle. Abdelmelec was constantly aware of his enemies' movements. In one brief scene (III.2) he clears himself of guilt and places the responsibility squarely on Sebastian's shoulders:

Sebastian, see in time unto thy selfe,  
If thou and thine misled doe thrive amisse,  
Guiltlesse is Abdelmelec of thy bloud.

23. Except in III.1 and V.1, there are few precise references to time, but see the time analysis worked out by Mable Buland, *The Presentation of Time in the Elizabethan Drama* (New York, 1912), pp. 232-234.

For some reason this scene was omitted from the plot. Greg thought it was "quite superfluous to the story";<sup>24</sup> it does not advance the military action very much, granted, but certainly it is important in the stage representation of the history, for it serves to re-enforce Peele's concept of Abdelmelec as an heroic soldier (and it is important in the anti-Spanish subplot, which will be discussed later). A convincing passage in Polemon's history helped Peele conceive Abdelmelec's speech. Polemon wrote (sig. T4):

[Abdelmelec] spake one day to this effecte: The King of Portugall ought diligentlie to weigh and thinke with himselfe, how iust and lawful a cause he hath to come into *Africa*. For seeing that he goeth about to take the kingedome from him, to whome it doth of right appertaine, & to giue it to the *Negro*, and that with no profit nor commoditie to the Christians, that will almightie God, who is a iust Iudge, neuer suffer.

Although the governor of Tangier seriously garbles the details of Sebastian's voyage (ll. 881 ff.), his report nevertheless brings the fleet to Africa. Very little dramatic power is achieved until the representation of the night council just before the battle (IV.2), when Sebastian tries to rally his spiritless forces to some kind of zeal. The only strength of language is the hectic, almost crazy vigor of the Moor's soliloquy, a frightful piece of rant. Polemon at least was not responsible for such lines:

Rackt let him be in proud Ixions wheele,  
Pinde let him be with Tantalus endlesse thirst,  
Praie let him be to Titans greedie bird . . .

On the whole, it would seem that Peele was trying by this kind of rhetoric to flog things along to the battle.

The historian's huge canvas of the battle scene was translated into the "Alarums" and "Skirmidges" familiar in all Elizabethan stage battles. Only the sudden death of Abdelmelec calls for particular note here. This passage in Peele's play seems especially inept because the account in the prose history is generally successful. Peele gives no hint of Abdelmelec's fatal illness earlier in the play (at least, no hint survives in the quarto text). The sudden stage direc-

24. *Abridgements*, p. 59.

tion "He dyeth" therefore seems mechanically employed, as though Peele had bungled his source material. The reader of the historical account, on the other hand, is prepared for the king's sudden death. After describing the first combat between Abdelmelec and his nephew, Polemon explains that Abdelmelec "hauing caught an ague was not well in health" and determined to rest in Fez (sigs. S<sub>4</sub><sup>v</sup>-T<sub>1</sub>). There is another graphically detailed picture of the king who at length "cast vp a great gobbet of Cheese, which made his stomacke so weake and faint, that afterward it could concoct no meate" (sig. U<sub>1</sub><sup>v</sup>). It is not hard to see why Peele omitted the "gobbet of Cheese" when he had Abdelmelec to deal with on the stage, but it is not clear why he omitted all the earlier references to the illness that would have made the sudden death more credible.

The details of the disastrous battle closely follow Polemon's account. Peele did not leave out the barbarity of the victorious Moors: the terrible fate that awaited Muly Mahamet's corpse has authority for its grimmest details.

Following his source, Peele gave final emphasis to the death of three kings, not to the incidental debacle of nearly 20,000 slaughtered Portuguese soldiers. The tragedy lay, traditionally, in the "princes funeralls." There is a dignity in the closing lines that is seldom achieved elsewhere in the play. Accompanied by a solemn march, not unlike that in the closing scene of *Hamlet*, the new king's lines must have been effectively spoken on the stage:

My Lord Zareo, let it be your charge,  
To see the souldiers tread a solempne march,  
Trailing their pikes and Ensignes on the ground,  
So to performe the princes funeralls.

"Here endeth the tragicall battell of Alcazar" as Peele found it described in the *Second booke of Battailes*. The English translation provided Peele with a story so much to his taste, apparently, that he made few alterations in the main plot, and these were generally prompted by the exigencies of dramatic representation. Polemon also provided clues for Stukley's story, which Peele elaborated into a subplot that must have delighted his audiences. And quite contrary to the history of the battle originally dedicated to Philip II,

Peele twisted the facts into another, anti-Spanish, subplot that could be counted on to draw crowds of patriotic Englishmen.

### C. THE STUKLEY SUBPLOT

Captain Thomas Stukley's role in the Portuguese *jornada* gave to the battle of Alcazar a particular interest for Englishmen, since by joining forces with Sebastian's expedition to Africa Stukley turned aside a blow aimed at his own country. This is why the Captain's name was advertised on the title page of Peele's play. When Stukley's contemporaries at home spoke of "the three kings" that fell at Alcazar, they frequently added the name of a proud English captain. To them, Alcazar was indeed "made famous" on the fourth of August 1578, "for three kings in re and one in spe there slain that day."<sup>1</sup>

The biography of Thomas Stukley is even now indistinct, though many sixteenth-century documents trace his erratic career from London to Alcazar. Many of these sources are the reports of his enemies, among them Cecil's spies, who watched Stukley both for money and for spite; or they are the reports of Irish nationalists in Spain and Rome who grew at last to hate or fear the reckless English adventurer. The few reports of Stukley's friends in Ireland, Spain, and Rome are hardly more trustworthy than the charges of his enemies. His reputation is smeared at one time, celebrated another. What is one to make of this "rakehell," as Cecil once called him, this "prince" in the eyes of Sir Henry Sidney?

The animosities that characterize the earliest letters about Stukley have left their sharp stamp on the most recent studies of Irish and English historians who have written about his troubled career, though literary critics have been a little less severe in their judg-

1. Thomas Westcote, *A View of Devonshire in MDCXXX* (Exeter, 1845), p. 272. Fuller's account of Stuckley includes this couplet about the battle of Alcazar "where Stuckley lost his life":

A fatal fight, where in one day was slain,  
Three Kings that were, and One that would be fain.

See *The History of the Worthies of England* (1662), under "Devonshire," p. 259.

ments of the man.<sup>2</sup> Because there are so many and so conflicting stories about him, Stukley will probably always be one of the most puzzling figures in modern history, but the following unadorned account will attempt to suggest the main outline of his baroque career.

Thomas, the younger son of Sir Hugh Stukley<sup>3</sup> of Devon, was born about 1520.<sup>4</sup> Little is known about his early years until he took part in the Duke of Somerset's reckless plot to "revolutionize

2. The most recent historical studies about Stukley are indebted to the work of D. A. Binchy, "An Irish Ambassador at the Spanish Court, 1569-1574," in *Studies, An Irish Quarterly*, 10-14 (1921-25); see especially 11 (1922), 199-214, and 14, 102-119. Binchy's study includes only Stukley's middle years and paints a dark picture of "the worthless adventurer," the "perfidious intriguer." The same period of Stukley's career was traced by C. L. MacFaelain in a long series of articles entitled "Wine from the Royal Pope" in *The Catholic Bulletin* (Dublin), 15-19 (1925-29), but they are a rehash of Binchy's work, chopped up in shorter essays. Larsen did not know about Binchy's work, but the material has been handled by Myles V. Ronan, *The Reformation in Ireland under Elizabeth* (New York, 1930), and by David Mathew, "Sir Thomas Stukley's Design," in *The Celtic Peoples and Renaissance Europe*, New York, 1933. The fullest work on Stukley, however, and in many ways still the best, is the biography by Richard Simpson in his *School of Shakspeare*, 1 (New York, 1878), 1-156. Perhaps the best-known account is that by Pollard in the *DNB* (1909). Two of the earliest accounts of Stukley have real value: Philip O'Sullivan-Bear's *Compendium of the History of Catholic Ireland* (1621), translated and edited by M. J. Byrne (Dublin, 1903), pp. 20-21; and Giovanni Maffei (1533-1603), *Degli Annali di Gregorio XIII* (Rome, 1742), pp. 355-361. Although he does not cite his authorities, J. B. Wainewright seems to have known Maffei's account of Stukley; see *NQ*, Ser. 12, 9 (1921), 372-373. There is a chapter on "Don Stukley" in Rose Macaulay's *They Went to Portugal* (London, 1946), pp. 346-358. An untrustworthy "biography" by John Izon (London, 1956) includes a curious scene from the battle of Alcazar, reproduced (he says) from van Meteren's *History of the Netherlands* (1608).

3. By sixteenth and seventeenth-century writers the name was variously spelled Stukley, Stucley, Stukeley, Stukely, Stewtley, etc. I have followed many recent historians in preferring the spelling "Stukley."

4. In the absence of certain knowledge, Simpson's argument that Stukley "was born sometime before 1520" seems reasonable. See *School of Shakspeare*, 1, 4. Larsen, for reasons that are not apparent, suggested that Stukley was born about 1525: *Trans. R.S.C.*, 33 (1939), 189. There seems to be no truth in the rumor, current in his day, that Thomas was the bastard son of Henry VIII. See O'Sullivan-Bear, p. 20, and Wainewright, p. 372.

the government." When Somerset's conspiracy was exposed in 1551, Stukley removed to France, where he soon ingratiated himself at the court of Henry II, but when he learned that the French were preparing for an invasion of England, Stukley returned to report this design to the Privy Council. No doubt he expected to win himself back into favor at home this way, but for his pains he was promptly clapped into the Tower. After Mary's accession, Stukley again went abroad "to serve in the wars," this time in the army of Charles V. It is probable, also, that during the years of Mary's reign Thomas Stukley first engaged in privateering off the coast of Ireland.

This much is certain, that shortly after his return from France in 1552 the young English captain made a "rich match" with Anne Curtis, granddaughter and heiress of Alderman Sir Thomas Curtis. When Sir Thomas died in 1559, Stukley busied himself in the Alderman's coffers until the whole fortune was squandered on tradesmen and soldierly companions. After he was reduced to poverty, about 1562, Elizabeth came to the spendthrift's aid and licensed Stukley to found a colony in Terra Florida. The Florida expedition was really a cloak for piratical attacks on French merchant ships, and when too loud a protest was raised Stukley was sacrificed to political expediency and his license was repudiated. Although he was acquitted of the charges of piracy in 1565, his Florida adventure had "cost the Queen roundly," and there were no returns from her outlay, a matter that Elizabeth did not easily forgive. Her antagonism dogged Stukley to the end.

Since his prospects at her court were dim, the disgraced Stukley betook himself to Ireland, where he managed to enjoy the friendship of both the Lord Deputy, Sir Henry Sidney, and the proud Shane O'Neill, the rebel chief. While in Ireland, he tried at least twice to purchase office and estates; first, the office of the Marshall of the Army and his lands, for which he agreed to pay £3,000; then the office of Seneschal of Wexford, to which were attached some old monastic lands. Sidney recommended his friend to both offices. Even his most hostile critics are agreed that Stukley would have served the Queen well in either post, for O'Neill admired the boastful Englishman's undisputed military skill; but Elizabeth refused to certify either appointment. Upon the doubtful purchases

of these lands, Stukley was later to base his claims for the title "Marquis of Ireland." Meanwhile, however, he was ordered to stand trial for his suspected dealings with the Irish nationalists. The indictment actually rested on weak foundations: witnesses against Stukley reported that he railed against the Crown's appointee to the office of Seneschal of Wexford, and told them (in soldierly language that cannot be repeated here) how little he cared for the Queen.<sup>5</sup> Nevertheless, Stukley was committed to prison in 1569 to await trial. How he got free is not certainly known, but apparently Sidney paroled him. When Stukley begged to fit out a ship, gather a few friendly witnesses for his defense, and go in person to clear himself with the Queen, Sidney took him at his word. A ship was put at Stukley's command. Once clear of the harbor at Waterford, Captain Stukley veered for Spain.

His reception at Philip's court must have surprised even Stukley. Quick to recognize the fugitive Captain as a thorn in Elizabeth's side, Philip gave him a generous pension and, in 1571, a Knighthood in the Order of Calatrava, together with hopes for better days to come. Free-wheeling in Madrid, the irresponsible English adventurer somehow associated himself with the Irish nationalists who were urging Philip to free Ireland from Elizabeth's yoke.<sup>6</sup> Philip's hesitation to help the Irish seemed endless, and his ardor for Stukley cooled when larger diplomatic policies favored an alliance with England. So off Stukley shipped to Rome, and later to the battle of Lepanto, where amid the kind of confusion he liked he won distinction under Don John of Austria.

By 1577 Stukley had somehow assumed leadership of the so-called "Irish Expedition." At least he claimed to be the author and military captain of a plan to return Ireland to Papal government. There were actually several plans *in ovo*; some of them had been hatching at Madrid and Rome for years—one warmed by the in-

5. See State Papers, *Ireland, 1509-1573*, p. 408, and Ronan, *The Reformation*, p. 277, or Simpson, 1, 59.

6. The legitimate leader of the Irish nationalists was the exiled Archbishop of Cashel, Maurice MacGibbon, who at first greeted Stukley with some warmth. By 1571, however, Stukley was established in the King's favor, and Cashel was discredited in Spain. For Cashel's bitter account of Stukley see Simpson, 1, 80-84.

terest of James Fitzgerald, another by the English exiles in Rome,<sup>7</sup> another by Don John of Austria,<sup>8</sup> and finally the expedition hatched in Stukley's heated brain.<sup>9</sup> At last the new Pope, Gregory XIII, favored "Stukley's plan," and promoted the scheme with tangible favor: a ship, 600 men, and arms. Just what Stukley intended to do with so few men is hard to imagine. He has been accused of the grossest self-serving opportunism; but whatever Stukley's real designs may have been, Englishmen received alarming reports of an "armada" sent out to burn the Queen's ships and conquer Ireland.

Stukley set sail from Porto Ercole in February 1578.<sup>10</sup> On his way to Ireland he stopped, for reasons that may never fully be explained, at Lisbon. Sebastian was preparing his expedition to Barbary and Stukley was persuaded to abandon his ostensible course for Ireland. He joined the Portuguese and fought valiantly for them at Alcazar, where he was killed August 4, 1578. In the next year his few followers that escaped death at Alcazar were joined with the pitifully inadequate force of Fitzgerald and finally reached Ireland, where they were defeated at Smerwick by Lord Grey, in August 1579.

7. For James Fitzgerald, the principal Irish negotiators in Spain and Rome were Maurice MacBrien (Bishop of Emly), Patrick O'Hely (Bishop of Mayo), and Father Wolf (Apostolic Commissary). The English project, which was similar to the Irish, was conceived and directed by a number of British exiles resident in Rome, principally Dr. Sander, Dr. Allen, Sir Francis Englefield, and Dr. Owen Lewis. For the best account of the relationships between these two plans see Binchy's articles in *Studies*. A contemporary account of the English exiles in Rome, and their plots, can be found in Anthony Munday's *The English Romayne Lyfe* (1582).

8. For the best account of the truly fantastic plot conceived by Don John of Austria see P. O. de Törne, "Don Juan d'Autriche et les projets de conquête de l'Angleterre, 1568-1578," *Acta Academiae Aboensis Humaniora*, 6 (1930), 1-239. See also Stirling-Maxwell, *Don John of Austria*, 1 (London, 1883), 105-113, 247-267, 286-288.

9. See State Papers, *Rome*, 1572-78, pp. 19-20 (Stukley to Philip); pp. 298-299 (Cardinal of Como to Don John); pp. 369-370 (Ptolemy Galli to the Nuncio in Spain). See also Ronan, *The Reformation*, pp. 389-394, 514-523, 577-586.

10. Z. N. Brooke has presented convincing evidence that Stukley actually sailed from Porto Ercole, not from Civita Vecchia, as it is generally stated, even by recent historians. See "The Expedition of Thomas Stukeley in 1578," *English Historical Review*, 28 (1913), 330-337.

Historians may someday give us the real Stukley. The legendary "Captain Stukley" that Peele knew was a less enigmatic character, a colorful and forthright adventurer who captured the imagination (and often the sympathy) of Renaissance Englishmen. Besides Peele's play, in which the storied Stukley made one of his earliest appearances, there has survived a large and heterogeneous body of literature which, taken as a whole, might be called the Stukley legend. Ballads, tracts, plays, biographies, and various prose fictions contributed to the popular conception of the man. The largest and most sympathetic portrait is to be found in the play entitled *Captaine Thomas Stukeley*, but in almost all of this literature there was implicit agreement about Stukley's character: He may have been a roisterer, but he was certainly a brave captain, beloved by his own soldiers and generally esteemed for his military virtues. By some he was called thriftless; by others, magnanimous. It was admitted by all that he was extremely generous with other people's money. Proud he may have been, and ambitious, but never petty. A man of agreeable presence, aspiring mind, and ready wit, in many ways Thomas Stukley was a typical child of Renaissance England. Although he was once a pirate and at last a renegade, Englishmen did not judge him harshly for it. Even George Peele, who otherwise beat the patriotic drum in *The Battle of Alcazar*, did not dwell on Stukley's treachery and seemed to forgive his folly.

The Stukley legend began to take shape while its hero was still a young London gallant. In 1561, George North published his *Description of Swedland, Gotland, and Finland*,<sup>11</sup> which carried this dedication: "To the ryght woorshypfull, and hys synguler good Mayster, Mayster Thomas Steuckley Esquire, hys obedient seruauant George North wyssheth prosperous health, wyth encrease of muche worship."

North's *Description* contains at once the earliest and unquestionably the most authoritative picture of the young captain. He professes the book to Stukley

as the fruites of my trauail in your absence: acknowledging herewithal the remembraunce of my seruiceable deuty and

11. *The Description of Swedland, Gotland, and Finland* . . . Collected . . . out of Sebastian Mounster. By George North . . . Imprinted at London by John Awdely . . . Anno. 1561. The. 28. of October.

good wil to your Mastership; whose large & ample benefites I haue not seldome tymes receyued, with your fauorable goodnes, not onely to me, but to euerye one, whose nede you knew to want your reliefe. More, what friend remaynes unrecompenced of any friendship towards you: What / stayed hand hath wythdrawen any gyft of yours from him who desyred it, and whom you thought worthy to receiue it: Besydes these your liberalities; your own trauel in foreyne & straunge nacions wyth the perfect understanding, & almost natural speakyng of theyr languages: importeth you to be as trym a Courtier, as you are knowen to be a worthy Soldiour. I would dilate your seuerall vertues, but I feare to incurre your displeasure thereby, whose eares enuieth the hearing of your own praise; & whose tounge thundreth oute the good fame of others. [sigs. A3-A3<sup>v</sup>]

In closing, North wished "fruitfull continuaunce of helth" to Stukley and his "Mystres" (Anne Curtis), "whose mynde is frayted with a number of sober vertues."

This testimony to Stukley's character is supported by Gabriel Harvey, who once owned a copy of North's *Description*<sup>12</sup> and wrote two notes in the margins of the dedication: "Captain Stukley, a fine Courtier, & braue Soldiour. A great man with y<sup>e</sup> King of France, y<sup>e</sup> King of Spaine, y<sup>e</sup> Emperour, & y<sup>e</sup> Pope: who made him y<sup>e</sup> General of his warres."<sup>13</sup> Harvey's other note attests to Stukley's "skilfulnes in forein languages and goouernments."<sup>14</sup> The importance of North's picture of the young captain and his wife<sup>15</sup> can

12. Now in the Folger Library. Harvey's name is written twice on the title page; the signature in the top margin is dated 1574. Marshall W.S. Swan edited North's *Description* for Scholars' Facsimiles and Reprints, New York, 1946. Three more of Harvey's references to Stukley are printed by G. C. Moore Smith, *Gabriel Harvey's Marginalia* (Stratford, 1913), pp. 141, 198-199, 267 n. E.g. in his copy of Foorth's *Synopsis Politica* . . . 1582, fol. 17, Harvey wrote: "Be bold and useful, like Stukley and Drake." And again: "two braue Roman natures: winners of gowld, & wearers of gowld. / Two noble adventurers, most seruiceable at all assayes, by Sea and lande." He seems to be referring to Stukley's piratical adventures, and Drake's.

13. North, sig. [A4].

14. Sig. A3<sup>v</sup>. The rest of the note has been cut off, apparently when the book was bound.

15. North makes special reference to Anne's generosity to him. That

hardly be overemphasized, since so little is known about this period of Stukley's career; and it may be noted that North wishes "the prosperous successe of Fortune to cal you to your harts desyre." Perhaps this is a reference to Stukley's fortune at Court.

When in 1563 Elizabeth authorized various of her brave subjects to privateer on French shipping, "stout Stukley" was fitted out with "a number of good ships well armed and manned to pass to discover certain lands in the west towards Terra Florida."<sup>16</sup> The "Florida expedition" might have been a mask to hide an illegal venture, but the enterprising Captain got himself some publicity in a broadside entitled *A Cōmendation of the aduēterus viage of the wurthy Captain. M. Thomas Stutely Esquyer and others, towards the Land called Terra florida.*<sup>17</sup>

It must have been about 1565, the time of Stukley's humiliating trial, that another Stukley ballad appeared. Of this broadside, only a fragment has come down to us, a few lines that reveal the proud Stukley in hard circumstances after the failure of his Florida front:

Have over the waters to Florida,  
Farewell good London now;  
Through long delays on land and seas,  
I'm brought, I cannot tell how,

---

Stukley used her shamefully seems to be pretty well established, an ugly part of the legend. Mr. Robert McNulty generously pointed out to me that in his notes to *Orlando*, John Harington makes this reference to Stukley and Anne: "Or, as our Stukley said, make as much of his wife as he could, and if any could make more of her they might take her, after he had gotten many thousand pounds by making much of her." *Orlando Furioso in English Verse* (1591), sig. G5<sup>v</sup>.

16. So reads the letter sent by Cecil to the Earl of Sussex, Lord Deputy of Ireland, June 30, 1563. See Simpson, 1, 33.

17. This ballad was registered in the books of the Stationers' Company in the name of John Alde (father of Edward Alde, who printed *Alcazar*) in 1562/3: Arber, 1, 215. There are a number of copies extant, among them one in the Huntington Library, from which I quote. A facsimile text of the ballad has been reprinted by Collmann, *Ballads & Broad-sides* (Oxford, 1912), pp. 236-239. Modern-spelling texts have been reprinted by Collier, *Old Ballads* (London, 1840), pp. 72-77, Simpson, 1, 148-151, and Ebsworth, *Roxburghe Ballads*, 7 (Hertford, 1893), 572-573. The author of the ballad was Robert Seall, about whom nothing is known.

In Plymouth town, in a thread-bare gown,  
 And money never a deal:  
 Hay! trixi trim! go trixi trim!  
 And will not a wallet do well? <sup>18</sup>

The threadbare gown must have been galling, for even at this age the young Captain like to "play rex."

"I had rather be king of a mole-hill," Westcote reported that Stukley said, "then subject to a mountain." <sup>19</sup> This vaunt, which Fuller and most of Stukley's later biographers repeated, has contributed to the popular conception of "proud Stukley." Apparently his contemporaries shared this judgment of the lusty adventurer, for Westcote also recorded of Stukley that

it was a common report, spoken of divers worthy of credit, that Queen Elizabeth, in the height of his intended project, demanded of him pleasantly whether he would remember her when he was settled in his kingdome? yes, saith he, and write unto you also. "And what style wilt thou use?" said her majesty. He presently answered, "To my loving sister, as one prince writes to another."

This, in its various versions, has become the best-known story in the Stukley legend. Peele did not refer to Stukley's Florida venture in *Alcazar*, but he was certainly familiar with the legend of Stukley's kingly airs. One of Stukley's first speeches reflects the popular concept of the swaggering adventurer when he boasts (ll. 452-461):

There shall no action passe my hand or sword,  
 That cannot make a step to gaine a crowne,  
 No word shall passe the office of my tong,  
 That sounds not of affection to a crowne,  
 No thought have being in my lordly brest,  
 That workes not everie waie to win a crowne,

18. The fragment was preserved in Westcote's *View*, p. 272. It has been reprinted by Simpson, 1, 151, and by Ebsworth, 7, 572.

19. See Westcote, p. 271, and Fuller's *Worthies*, p. 258. Earlier than Westcote's story is a reference in Gabriel Harvey's *Pierces Supererogation* (1593) to "aspiring Stukely, that would rather be the king of a moulhill, then the second in Ireland, or England." See Grosart's ed., 2, 146.

Deeds, wordes and thoughts shall all be as a kings,  
 My chieftest companie shall be with kings,  
 And my deserts shall counterpoise a kings,  
 Why should not I then looke to be a king?  
 I am the marques now of Ireland made,  
 And will be shortly king of Ireland,  
 King of a mole-hill had I rather be,  
 Than the richest subject of a monarchie,  
 Ruffe it brave minde, and never cease t'aspire,  
 Before thou raigne sole king of thy desire.

These early ballads and anecdotes fixed in the popular imagination the picture of an extravagant spirit, a buccaneering "royal Stukley," with whom Peele was certainly familiar. In addition to the gossip and the broadside ditties, there eventually appeared many other popular accounts of the English Captain, including the "biographical chronicle play" entitled *The Famous Historye of the life and death of Captaine Thomas Stukeley*, parts of which may be older than *The Battle of Alcazar*.

The play was entered in the Stationers' Registers by Thomas Pavier, August 11, 1600 and published by him in 1605.<sup>20</sup> The play, however, must be dated much earlier than its entry in the books of the Stationers' Company. Simpson dated it as early as 1598, or even earlier. "A play," he argued, "in which the death of Sebastian is shown, without a hint of the story of his not really dying, can scarcely be later than 1598, when the news of the appearance of a claimant of Sebastian's personality and throne began to make a stir in England."<sup>21</sup>

20. The entry in the Registers of the Company of Stationers reads: "Item ye history of the life and Deathe of Captaine Thomas Stucley, with his Mariage to Alexander Curtis [*sic*] his daughter, and his valiant endinge of his life at the battell of Alcazar" (Arber, 3, 169). The title page of the 1605 edition reads: "*The Famous Historye of the life and death of Captaine Thomas Stukeley. With his marriage to Alderman Curteis Daughter, and valiant ending of his life at the Battaile of Alcazar. As it hath beene Acted. Printed for Thomas Pauyer, and are to be sold at his shop at the entrance into the Exchange, 1605.*" Cited below as C.T.S.

21. Simpson, 1, 154.

Elizabethan Englishmen showed an extraordinary interest in the popular myth that Sebastian survived the battle of Alcazar and returned to Portugal about twenty years later to claim the throne. In the economic ruin that followed Alcazar and the Spanish occupation of Portugal, the curious superstition took root and actually produced four imposters who claimed to be king. Their stories gave birth to an enormous literature of "Sebastianism," political and "mythological" tracts and pamphlets that quickly spread beyond the borders of Portugal and Spain. At least as early as 1598 the interest in the false Sebastian had reached England, for in that year there was entered in the Stationers' Registers a book or pamphlet called *Strange Newes of the Retourne of Don Sebastian*.<sup>22</sup>

There is other evidence that the *Stukeley* play must be dated even earlier than 1598. The text of the play, as printed in 1605, shows clear signs of crude patching and interpolations. Portions of two, and possibly three, earlier plays have been detected by critics who hold that the patched-up *Captaine Thomas Stukeley* was revived about 1600 to satisfy the current interest in the Sebastian myth. (*Alcazar* was also revived by the Admiral's men in 1598-99.)

Although there is a bewildering diversity of opinion about the date and authorship of this *Stukeley* play, the majority of critics are in substantial agreement on two points:

1. The author of the original play represented in five acts the biographical chronicle of Stukley's adventures in five countries: England, Ireland, Spain, Rome, and Africa. This original version of

22. See Arber, 3, 137. The whole literature of Sebastianism does not fall within the scope of this study, but something may be said to indicate the great interest that the subject of the false Sebastian created in England. Of the earliest accounts of that myth in England, these are the most important: a pamphlet, translated by Anthony Munday from J. Teixeira, entitled *The Strangest Adventure that ever Happened . . .* (1601) and another called *A Continuation of the Lamentable and Admirable Adventures of Don Sebastian* (1603). Munday's first pamphlet was possibly the source of a play, now lost, about King Sebastian of Portugal, for which Dekker and Chettle were paid "in full" by Henslowe on May 22, 1601: Greg's ed. of *Henslowe's Diary*, 1, 136; 2, 217. Interest in the subject continued in England as late as 1690, when Dryden published his *Don Sebastian*. See also Chew, *The Crescent and the Rose*, pp. 527-530, and Livermore, *History of Portugal*, pp. 270-274.

the play is generally identified with the play called "Stewtley," which Henslowe recorded as a "new" play acted by the Admiral's men on December 11, 1596.<sup>23</sup>

2. The original five-act structure of the "Stewtley" play was not preserved in the text of the play printed by Pavier in 1605; this version was crudely reworked, presumably for a revival to catch the public interest in Sebastianism about 1598, and the hand of the playwright who revised the older "Stewtley" play can easily be detected. Much of the first three acts the reviser let stand,<sup>24</sup> i.e. the scenes that represent the hero's marriage to Anne Curtis, his adventures in Ireland, and a good portion of his experiences in Spain. Then about midpoint, as Oliphant has observed, "the play goes to pieces." The original fourth act of the "Stewtley" play (portraying the hero's life in Rome) has been omitted altogether, although a chorus informs the audience that Captain Stukley was

—by the Pope created as you heard  
Marquesse of Ireland.

23. There were ten performances of the play between December 1596 and June 1597. See *Henslowe's Diary*, 1, 50-53. Dyce suggested the identification of *Captaine Thomas Stukeley* with Henslowe's "Stewtley" but did not discuss the point. Dyce's suggestion was made in a note concerning Peele's *Farewell*, in which Peele mentions some of the plays then to be seen in the theatres of London—among them a reference to "Tom Stukeley." It is the consensus of critical opinion that this reference is to Peele's own play, *Alcazar*, and not to the "Stewtley" play mentioned in *Henslowe's Diary*. In 1878, Simpson rejected Dyce's identification of *Captaine Thomas Stukeley* with the "Stewtley" play. Simpson argued that C.T.S. "belonged to the Lord Chamberlain's men" on the ground of certain political partisanship which he ascribed to that company; see *School of Shakspeare*, 1, 139-144, 154-155. In 1891 Fleay, qualifying Dyce's suggestion, identified the original version of C.T.S. with Henslowe's "Stewtley" of 1596; see *Biographical Chronicle*, 1, 127. This conjecture was elaborated and strengthened by the following: E. H. C. Oliphant, *NQ*, Ser. 10, 3 (1905), esp. p. 385; J. Q. Adams, "Captaine Thomas Stukeley," *JEGP*, 15 (1916), pp. 107-109; and E. K. Chambers, *Elizabethan Stage*, 4, 47.

24. Act and scene divisions were not indicated in the 1605 edition of C.T.S., but it is an easy matter to distinguish at least the first three act divisions and most of the scene divisions. The play has been edited by Simpson, 1, 158-268, and—as one of the Tudor Facsimile Texts—by J. S. Farmer in 1911.

The audience has heard nothing of the sort. In place of the original scenes about Rome and Africa the reviser substituted scenes from at least one older drama about Sebastian, Don Antonio, and the battle of Alcazar.

Simpson first suggested that part of the interpolated scenes were taken from "some play on the subject of Don Antonio."

It is well known that after the slaughter of Sebastian at the battle of Alcazar in August, 1578, his uncle the Cardinal succeeded to the crown, and after a brief reign left it a prey to pretenders. The most powerful of them, Philip II. of Spain, seized it. But Queen Elizabeth favoured Antonio, whose claims were barred by his bastardy. The fragment which does duty for the 4th act of the play was once a part of a drama intended to recommend to the English the claims of Antonio to the crown.<sup>25</sup>

Oliphant and Adams accepted and elaborated this much of Simpson's theory about the interpolated scenes of an older play, which they called *Sebastian and Antonio*.<sup>26</sup> It is true that many passages in *Captaine Thomas Stukeley* emphasize Antonio's claims to the throne of Portugal. In one of them Sebastian says to Antonio:

. . . first our deerest cosen,  
for your princely selfe,  
your right vnto the crown of Portingall,  
as first and nearest of our royall bloud,  
that should we faile: the next in our succesion,  
tis you and yours, to sit vpon our throne,  
Which is our pleasure to be published.<sup>27</sup>

It is not improbable, then, that the reviser of *Captaine Thomas Stukeley* did borrow a good many scenes from an older play about Sebastian, Antonio, and their preparations for the African expedition that ended in the battle of Alcazar. Whatever the old play

25. Simpson, 1, 140.

26. See Oliphant, p. 385, and J. Q. Adams, "Stukeley," pp. 108-109. Adams argued that Thomas Heywood was the author of "the excellent Stukeley scenes in the original play of 1596" and that "Heywood may have had a finger in the composition of *Sebastian and Antonio* also."

27. C.T.S., sig. I4; Simpson, 1, 246.

might have been called, it is clear that Stukley enjoyed a prominent role in it, a circumstance that made it all the easier for the reviser to interpolate scenes from the older play. Neither Simpson nor Oliphant nor Adams was very specific about the date of the older play. The possibility of establishing even a rough date depends upon another theory about the interpolated scenes.

The second theory was also first suggested by Simpson, who held that with the

fragments of a play upon *Don Antonio*, there are interwoven, in the fifth act, fragments of another play upon the *battle of Alcazar*, or *Stucley*, or the Moor Mahamet and his wife Callipolis. These fragments are in a more archaic style, like that of Peele or Greene, and somewhat in Cambyses' vein. The persons also are the same as in Peele's *battle of Alcazar*.<sup>28</sup>

Fleay thought that Act V—"the Alcazar part" as he called it—was written by Peele. The text of *Captaine Thomas Stukeley* as it has come down, Fleay believed, was the work of Dekker, who "patched up" the old "Stewtley" play with "half of one by Peele on the Moor Mahomet."<sup>29</sup> Fleay's statement must have influenced Schelling, who made the flat (and obviously wrong) pronouncement that "fragments of at least one earlier play, *The Battle of Alcazar*," appear in the text of *Captaine Thomas Stukeley*.<sup>30</sup> A careful reading of both plays, however, will reveal that not a single passage of Peele's *Alcazar* has been interpolated into the text of the Stukley play. Adams' statement that there is "absolutely no kinship between Act V of *Captaine Thomas Stukeley* and the last act of Peele's well-known play"<sup>31</sup> is perhaps too strong, for a good many scenes in both plays represent the same characters and the same events. Yet

28. Simpson, 1, 141.

29. *Biographical Chronicle*, 1, 127-128. It is not clear what play Fleay might have meant by his reference to "the Moor Mahomet." Apparently he had in mind Simpson's reference to "the Moor Mahomet and his wife Callipolis," as quoted above. It is possible, also, that Fleay was referring to Peele's lost play, *The Turkish Mahomet and Hyrin the faire Greeke*; see Larsen, "Peele Canon," p. 303. But there is no reason to suppose that *The Turkish Mahomet* treated of the battle of Alcazar.

30. F. E. Schelling, *The English Chronicle Play* (New York, 1902), p. 223.

31. See Adams, "Stukeley," p. 112.

it is clear that the two plays treat events and characters in different ways. For example, the scene in *Captaine Thomas Stukeley* showing the meeting of Sebastian and Muly Mahamet at Tangier,<sup>32</sup> and the scene of the night council before the battle,<sup>33</sup> may be from a play as old as *Alcazar*, but they are not Peele's.<sup>34</sup>

It would be foolish to try to disentangle all the interpolated scenes and arbitrarily to assign dates and authors to them; but without making dogmatic pronouncements, one may point to certain scenes in *Captaine Thomas Stukeley* that may be as old as Peele's *Alcazar*. It cannot be proved that Peele borrowed from even the most "archaic" passages of the Stukley play, or that the author of that play borrowed from Peele. This much is certain, however: both plays are indebted to the living, oral Stukley tradition and possibly, as Larsen observed, to chapbooks and ballads of which no trace now remains.

In *Alcazar*, Stukley's unexpected arrival at Lisbon, just at the time that Sebastian was preparing for the African war, is explained by a storm that forced him into port. Peele's Bishop tells the Governor of Lisbon (ll. 401-402):

And Ireland long ere this had been subdude,  
Had not foule weather brought us to this bay.

In *Captaine Thomas Stukeley*, the English adventurer arrives at a port in Spain, where Sebastian has gone to receive Philip's promised aid, but the chorus explains that "Stukly by weather is driuen in to them." This explanation of Stukley's reasons for putting into port seems to be part of the Stukley legend only. Neither Nieto nor "Conestaggio" mention the storm, and modern historians find no excuse for Stukley's conduct. Indeed, it seems that the English Captain had instructions to *avoid* Portuguese waters.<sup>35</sup>

32. C.T.S., sigs. K1<sup>v</sup>-K2<sup>v</sup>; Simpson ed., pp. 250-253; cf. *Alcazar*, III.4.

33. C.T.S., sigs. K4<sup>v</sup>-L1<sup>v</sup>; Simpson ed., pp. 257-260; cf. *Alcazar*, IV.2.

34. Simpson remarked particularly on the scene (pp. 250-253) with the Moor, Calipolis, and Sebastian, which he called a fragment of a play in more archaic style, "like that of Peele or Greene." Some of the lines are indeed pretty bad, but there are a few stretches of dialogue better than anything Peele managed to achieve in *Alcazar*.

35. See Ronan, pp. 583-584, and the various sixteenth-century letters there referred to.

In both plays the "great impiety" of Stukley's Irish expedition is exclaimed upon. In *Alcazar* Diego Lopis, governor of Lisbon, answers the Bishop:

Under correction, are ye not all Englishmen,  
And longs not Ireland to that kingdome Lords?  
Then may I speake my conscience in the cause,  
Sance scandall to the holy sea of Rome,  
Unhonorable is this expedition,  
And misbeseeming yoo to meddle in.

And Sebastian's fervid eulogy of Elizabeth concludes with these lines (ll. 699-705):

Advise thee then proud Stukley ere thou passe,  
To wrong the wonder of the highest God,  
Sith danger, death and hell doth follow thee,  
Thee and them all that seeke to danger her.  
If honor be the marke wherat thou aimst,  
Then followe me in holy christian warres,  
And leave to seeke thy Countries overthrow.

In *Captaine Thomas Stukeley* the chorus continues the speech that has already been mentioned (sigs. K<sub>1</sub>-K<sub>1</sub><sup>v</sup>):

stukly by weather is driuen in to them,  
Who being knowne what countryman he was,  
What ships he had and what Italian bands,  
and whereto he was bound: thoffence thereof,  
the great dishonor and Impiety,  
Laid open by Sebastian, straite recants.

In the same speech in *Captaine Thomas Stukeley* the chorus refers to the "fatall comett" sent by "heauen displeased with their rash enterprise." In the spectacular dumb show of the fifth act of *Alcazar*, a stage direction reads: "Heere the blazing Starre."<sup>36</sup>

Although the descriptions of the meeting of Sebastian and Muly Mahamet are quite different in both plays, there is a parallel between Stukley's address to the Moor's son in both scenes. The resemblance is all the more curious because the incident is purely im-

36. See below, explanatory note for this S.D.

aginary. The Moor's son was in reality only ten years old, but in *Alcazar* he has a rousing speech in which he urges the Portuguese to war in his father's cause. To this speech Stukley replies (ll. 957–964):

Braue boy, how plaine this princely mind in thee  
 Argues the height and honor of thy birth,  
 And well have I observ'd thy forwardnes,  
 Which being tendred by your majestie,<sup>37</sup>  
 No doubt the quarrell opened by the mouth  
 Of this yong prince unpartially to us,  
 May animate and hearten all the hoast,  
 To fight against the devill for Lord Mahamet.

Stukley's speech expresses much the same sentiment in *Captaine Thomas Stukeley* (K<sub>2</sub><sup>v</sup>):

Why heers a gallant, heers a king indeed,  
 He speaks all Mars tut let me follow such a  
 Lad as this: This is pure fire.  
 Euery looke he casts flasheth like lightning,  
 Theres mettle in this Boy.  
 He brings a breath that sets our sailes on fire,  
 Why now I see we shall haue cuffs indeed.

In both plays Stukley is killed by his own Italian soldiers. The conclusion of *Captaine Thomas Stukeley* reads (L<sub>4</sub><sup>v</sup>):

[Second Italian:] . . . if he  
 had kept his Oath he swore vnto the Pope,  
 we had beene safe in Ireland, where now  
 we perish heere in Aphrick but before  
 we taste of death, we vow to see him dead.  
 then braue Italians stab him to the heart.

Very much the same scene is represented in *Alcazar* (ll. 1301 ff.). This account of Stukley's death at the hands of his own soldiers, Italian mercenaries, is frequently met with in the legend; it seems to have some historical foundation. A contemporary account of Stukley by Maffei, for example, says:

37. Part of the speech has obviously been cut here.

When the scrimmage [at Alcazar] had scarcely begun, Stukley, while impiously abandoning his Italians (whom he urged to be the first to fight) and without saying a word, withdrew to the squadrons of the Spanish. And there, according to the account of many people, his two legs were shot off by an artillery-shot, though others affirm that, in the heat of the battle, besides being wounded by the enemy soldiers with a scimitar, he was also hit in the back by a round of an arquebus, a round which had been fired by his own soldiers who hated him to the death.<sup>38</sup>

Despite the resemblances, however, it must again be emphasized that there is no necessity to suppose that one playwright directly borrowed speeches or characters from the other play, whichever play may be the older. The military details about the Portuguese and Moorish armies are quite different in the two plays. The scenes in *Captaine Thomas Stukeley* that describe the battle of Alcazar are not based on *The Second booke of Battailes*, which was Peele's source for these details.<sup>39</sup> As for Stukley's participation in the African campaign, none of the early historical accounts give much attention to the English Captain.<sup>40</sup> It would seem that both Peele's

38. Giovanni Pietro Maffei, *Degli Annali di Gregorio XIII*, pp. 360-361. Maffei knew Stukley in Rome. The Italian's account is, of course, prejudiced, but gives a fresh picture of the English adventurer at the court of Gregory XIII. Earlier students of Peele's play have paid no attention to this account of Stukley's death. Polemon says nothing specific about the matter, merely listing the Marquess of Ireland "among the nobler sort that died in this battaile" (sig. Y1).

39. No historical source has been discovered for the military details about Alcazar reported in *C.T.S.* It is clear, however, that they are not based on any of the surviving contemporary accounts of the battle mentioned earlier. Cf. *C.T.S.*, sigs. I3<sup>v</sup>-I4<sup>v</sup>, K4<sup>v</sup>; Simpson ed., pp. 245-247, 257. The details are not the same in *The Second booke of Battailes*, sig. X2. Cf. also Centellas' *Voyages*, 1578 (ed. de Castries, p. 433); Conestaggio's *Unione*, 1585 (ed. de Castries, p. 551); and *The Dolorous Discourse*, 1579, ed. de Castries (Archives d'Angleterre), pp. 333-336. Full bibliographical descriptions of these titles will be found in the special bibliography. The strength of the Portuguese army (37,000 men) reported in *C.T.C.* is probably an exaggeration.

40. For example, *The Second booke of Battailes* includes only the barest mention of Stukley's arrival at Lisbon and his decision to join the expedi-

play and the Alcazar scenes in *Captaine Thomas Stukeley* were indebted to a common body of knowledge about Stukley's death: oral traditions, ballads, chapbooks, and tracts, some of which may not have survived. Both plays represent Stukley as a swaggering gallant in his youth but a brave and sagacious military leader at Alcazar. Although a traitor to England, Stukley was forgiven by his countrymen. The author of the chapbook entitled *The Famous History of Stout Stukley* best expressed the popular judgment of the Englishman's death at Alcazar: "Stukley behaved himself to the wonder & amazement of all Nations, & to the glory of his own Country."<sup>41</sup> Much the same generous view of Stukley's "noble valor" is seen in the ballad entitled "The famous life and death of the renowned *English* gallant, *Thomas Stukley*."<sup>42</sup>

In addition to the legend of Stukley's death, Englishmen were particularly interested in the widely circulated stories about the

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tion: "There came also vnto the king, 600. Italians, with whom the Pope had furnished the Counte of Ireland, who being arriued in Lisbon, offered his seruice to the king & promised to follow him in ye iourney" (sig. T<sub>4</sub>). Polemon also tells of Stukley's command: "The lefte or the middle battaile consisted of Germanes and Italians, which the Marques of Ireland gouerned" (sig. X<sub>2</sub>). Finally, Polemon lists the Marquess of Ireland "among the nobler sort that died in this battaile" (sig. Y<sub>1</sub>). That is all. Peele found few suggestions for the Stukley subplot here.

41. The title page of the chapbook reads: *The Famous History of Stout Stukley: or, His valiant Life and Death*. (There is a picture of a renaissance soldier against a background picture of the battle of Alcazar.) London, Printed by R.I. for Francis Grove. It was entered in the Stationers' Register May 11, 1638. The only known copy of this chapbook, formerly owned by Anthony Wood, is now in the Bodleian. It is evident that the book is based on C.T.S., since it follows some passages word for word.

42. One version of this ballad is appended to *Stout Stukley*. Other versions have been reprinted by Thomas Evans, *Old Ballads*, 2 (London, 1777), 103-109; Simpson, 1, 144-148; Ebsworth, *Roxburghe Ballads*, 7, 575-577; R. H. Evans, *Old Ballads*, 3 (London, 1810), 148-154; Child, *English and Scottish Ballads*, 7 (London, 1859), 305-312. This ballad, like the chapbook, treats of Stukley's whole life, and is also based on the play. Larsen dated the various versions of the ballad between 1650 and 1720, but the version in the chapbook must have been written before 1636. The Folger Library has three different broadside sheet copies of the ballad, undated; it is assigned to Richard Johnson (1573-1659?) because it appears in his *Crowne-Garland of Goulden Roses*, first pub. in 1612.

Captain's life in Rome, where he was "by the Pope appointed for the Conquest of *Ireland*" and created "Marquesse of *Lemster*, Earle of *Wexford* and *Caterlogh*, Vicount *Murraugh*, and Baron *Rosse*." <sup>43</sup> In 1582, Anthony Munday in his book *The English Romaine Lyfe* familiarly refers to this portion of the adventurer's life: "I am sure you haue heard what credite Captaine *Stukelye* was in with the Pope, and howe he was appointed w<sup>t</sup> his Armie, to inuade England: he being slayne in the battaile of the King of *Portugall*, thinges went not forward according as they should haue done." <sup>44</sup>

Stukley's plotting in Rome was closely associated in the public mind with the unsuccessful "Irish Expedition" under the military command of James Fitzmaurice Fitzgerald, the recognized Geraldine leader. Thomas Stukley's career was enmeshed with this plan of invasion for over a decade as the plot slowly shaped in Madrid and Rome. A few of Stukley's followers that survived the battle of Alcazar did indeed join Fitzgerald's expedition and proceeded with him to Ireland where they were defeated at Smerwick in August 1579. Spenser, who accompanied Lord Grey on that campaign, has given a vivid eyewitness account of the massacre in his *View of the Present State of Ireland* (1596). Public interest in Grey's defeat of the Fitzgerald invasion encouraged a good many broadsides, tracts, and pamphlets.<sup>45</sup> Among these was a pamphlet entitled *Neuwe*

43. So reads Peter Heylin's account of Stukley in the second edition of *Microcosmus* (1625), p. 720. On June 25, Sir Henry Sidney (Lord Deputy of Ireland) wrote to the Privy Council about the "Entencions and Deseignes of Stukeley." To his letter he added in a postscript a copy of "Stewkeley's Passeporte" which reads in part: "I *Thomas Stewkeley*, Knight, Baron of *Rosse* and *Idrone*, Viscount of *Murrowes* and *Rinshelagh*, Earle of *Gufort* and *Cathelonsi*, Marques of *Leinster*, Generall of our most Holy Father, *Gregorie* the xiiij, *Pontifico Maximo*." See A. Collins, *Letters . . . by Sir Henry Sydney*, 1 (London, 1746), 263. Stukley's "pretended titles" were frequently referred to in the official state papers of the period, and in popular literature. See especially *State Papers, Domestic, Eliza. Add. 1566-1579* (1871), pp. 542-543. Richard Leigh mentions Stukley's titles in *The Copie of a Letter Sent Out of England to Don Bernardin Mendoza* (1588), p. 32.

44. Bodley Head reprint, p. 13.

45. A ballad called "Fitzmorris" was entered to Richard Jones, Sept. 4, 1579; see Arber, 2, 359. This may be the Fitzmorris ballad, number 5244,

*Newes contayning A shorte rehearsall of the late enterprise of certaine fugytiue Rebelles: fyrst pretended by Captaine Stukeley* (1579).<sup>46</sup> *Newe Newes*, beyond explaining Stukley's role in the plot, professes to explain why the "rebel" altered his original course to Ireland and joined the Portuguese expedition to Africa. Earlier students of Peele's play have slighted this tract, although it gives the earliest printed account of Stukley's decision to join forces with Sebastian:

Capten Stukley dyd take ship at *Ciuuta Vechia* (a sea towne) lying about xii, or xiii. myles from Rome, and the speach went, at that time, that he should aryue at *Genua, Callis, Lysborne*, and in *Fraunce*, and there for to furnishe him selfe with soldiers, munition and victuals: which seemed the rather to be true, for so much, as when he was arriued in *Portingale at Lisborne*, and the Kinges Armye being there readye with his Nauie to sayle towards *Barbary*, he ioyned himself with them, and fortified them with his men and munition, yelding himselfe wholly to the Kinges seruice, and hopinge by these

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in the *Short Title Catalogue* (STC). There was also entered a tract or ballad called "newes out of Ireland," Dec. 10, 1580. Another called "solemne songe of the Rebelles State, to whome the Popes blessinge camme somewhat to late," was registered by Henry Carr, Dec. 20, 1580. Another entitled "warninge to the Romishe Rebells to beware the Graye" was registered by Richard Jones, Dec. 14, 1580; see Arber, 2, 383-385.

46. The title page reads: "*Newe Newes contayning A short rehearsall of the Late enterprise of certaine fugytiue Rebelles: fyrst pretended by Captaine Stukeley, and sithence continued, and put in practice, by MacMorice (his Lieutenant) vpon the Country of Ireland, in the monthe of Iuly last: who since, (amongst others) was discomfited and beheaded: as by the discourse followinge, more plainly may appeare.* Translated out of Dutch into English, the sixth of October, 1579. Imprinted by I.C." There are copies of this rare tract in the British Museum and in the Bodleian. As the title page indicates, the *Newe Newes* was translated from the Dutch tract called *Cort verhael van den aenslach gheschiedt in Irlandt*, London, 1597. There are copies of the Dutch pamphlet in the British Museum and in Trinity College Library, Dublin. The editors of the STC questioned the place of publication, and suggested Antwerp. There exists another translation in French: "*Brief Discours de l'entreprise faicte sur Irlande . . . A Londres. M.D.LXXIX.*" There are copies in the British Museum, the Bodleian, and the Folger.

meanes, the more easier to bring to passe his aforesaude pretended enterprise and purpose in *Ireland*. And y<sup>e</sup> rather for that he thought by that seruice, to get more store of Money, whereby he might the better bringe his mē where he would: and beside that, that they would be the more apt and prompt in Martial exploits after they were practised and trayned in the Warlike discipline of such an Armyes.<sup>47</sup>

Stukley's defection from his original commission is given slight attention in *The Battle of Alcazar*, and the scene that exhibits the moment of Stukley's decision shows signs of cutting.<sup>48</sup> As the text of the play has come down to us, the scene is not very convincing. There is little dramatic motivation for Sebastian's "command" or for Stukley's rather abrupt acceptance, but it is clear that Peele's Sebastian forces Stukley to join the *jornada* (ll. 724-736):

*Sebast.* Consider Lords you are now in Portugall,  
And I may now dispose of you and yours.  
Hath not the winde and weather given you up,  
And made you captives to our roiall will?

*Ionas.* It hath my Lord, and willingly wee yeeld  
To be commanded by your majestie,  
But if you make us voluntarie men,  
Our course is then direct for Ireland.

*Sebast.* That course we will direct for Barbary,  
Follow me Lords, Sebastian leades the way,  
To plant the christian fath in Affrica.

*Stuk.* Saint George for England, and Ireland nowe adue,  
For here Tom Stukley shapes his course anue.

47. Sigs. A5<sup>v</sup>-A6. There seems to be some historical foundation for this explanation. Apparently Sebastian did promise Stukley "all the aid that he could give him" *after* their return from Barbary; see the letter from the Bishop of Ripa to the Cardinal of Como, *State Papers, Rome, 1572-78*, pp. 427-429.

48. Noting that the Irish Bishop does not speak after l. 718, Greg conjectured that "in the original version he refused Sebastian's offer since he disappears from the play at this point." See *Abridgements*, p. 111. It is certain that the Bishop of Killala did refuse Sebastian's offer in 1578.

For this scene in which Stukley was given no choice but to follow Sebastian to Africa, it is quite possible that Peele's source existed in popular oral tradition rather than in the *Newe Newes*, and it may be observed that one of the English spies in Lisbon commented on Stukley's hesitation to join the African expedition in May 1578: "I have receaved letters this daie of the 11 and 12 of Maye from Lisborne, whereby I understand that Stewkeleys purposed voyage for Ireland is altered to serve the Kynge of Portugale agaynst Africa, moche agaynst his wyl, but the Kynge wyl have it so."<sup>49</sup>

Whatever his source for this scene may have been, it is evident that Peele slighted the guilt of his hero and consistently avoided emphasis on Stukley's traitorous designs against his own country. This sympathetic concept of the legendary Stukley differs sharply from the official Elizabethan view of the man, as expressed for instance in *The Execution of Justice* (1583): "And out of Ireland ranne away one Tho. Stukeley, a defamed person almost through all Christendome, and a faithlesse beast rather than a man, fleeing first out of England for notable piracies, and out of Ireland for trecheries not pardonable."<sup>50</sup> This distinction between the legendary and the historical Captain Thomas Stukley continued well into the seventeenth century. Serious writers with a claim to historical authority paint a prodigal, rebellious Stukley; playwrights, ballad makers, and other popular writers<sup>51</sup> are much more sym-

49. This letter of Thomas Wislon was printed in de Castries' *Histoire du Maroc* (Archives d'Angleterre), 1, 295-296. See also Thomas Wright, *Queen Elizabeth and her Times*, 2 (London, 1838), 85.

50. *The Execution of Justice in England* . . . Imprinted at London, 1583. The tract is reprinted in the *Harleian Miscellany*, 2 (London, 1809), 137-155. See also Holinshed, *Chronicles*, 3 (1586), 1359; Camden, *Annales*, 2 (ed. 1717), 223; and Larsen, *Trans. R.S.C.*, 33, 188 n.

51. The one notable exception to this statement is the account of Stukley in Thomas Deloney's *The Gentle Craft* (written between 1597-1600, published in 1648). In chap. 5, "The pleasant Story of Peachey," Deloney exhibits a sound bourgeois prejudice against Stukley as a swaggerer and a swearer. But most popular writers shared the opinion reflected by Beaumont and Fletcher in *Wit at Several Weapons*, I.1:

*Witty-page*: In what services have you been, Sir?

*Sir Ruinous Gentry*: The first that flesht me a Soldier, Sir, was that great battel at *Alcazar* in *Barbary*, where the noble English *Stukely* fell.

See *The Works of Beaumont and Fletcher*, ed. Waller, 9 (Cambridge,

pathetic toward the English gallant. George Carleton, Bishop of Chichester, for example, includes an account of the "rebel Stukley" in *A Thankfull Remembrance of Gods Mercy* (1624).<sup>52</sup> Carleton observes that the "bare-worne deceiver" was killed at Alcazar: "And so *Stucley* had too honorable an end of a dishonorable life." A more generous memory of Stukley's life is expressed in the chap-book called *Stout Stukley*, and in the "biographical ballad" that concludes with a romantic picture of the soldier's grave:

Stukleys life thus ended—was after death befriended  
 And like a soldier buried gallantly.  
 Where now there stands upon the grave—a stately  
                   temple builded brave  
 With golden turrets piercing to the sky.<sup>53</sup>

Stukley's reputation at home is perhaps best expressed by Sir Thomas Gresham's factor in Heywood's *If You Know Not Me*:

*Fact.* Vnwelcome newes sir, the King of Barbarie is slaine.  
*Gresh.* Ha, slaine by treason or by warre.  
*Fact.* By warre, in that renowned Battell,  
 Swift Fame desires to carry through the world:  
 The Battle of *Alcazar*, wherein two Kings  
 Besides this King of Barbarie was slaine,  
 Kings of Moroco and of Portugale,  
 With *Stewkeley* that renowned Englishman  
 That had a spirit equall with a King,  
 Mad fellow with these Kings in war-like strife,  
 Honor'd his Country and concluded life.<sup>54</sup>

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1910), 78; and *The Works of Thomas Deloney*, ed. Mann (Oxford, 1912), pp. 170–175.

52. *A Thankfull Remembrance of Gods Mercy* . . . Collected by Geo. Carleton . . . London, Printed by I.D. for Robert Mylbourne, 1624, 2d ed. 1625. A third edition, 1627, included a picture of Stukley kneeling before Gregory XIII and Philip II. Behind them was pictured a battle scene, presumably the field of Alcazar. A dead soldier (Stukley?) lies in the fore-field, over this inscription: *Sic Magnis excidit ausis*.

53. Simpson, 1, 148.

54. Pt. II (1606), sig. E3 (ll. 1285–95).

A "mad fellow" but withal a prince: Thus the judgment of posterity was kind to Stukley and fulfilled his dying request (ll. 1365-1368):

Stukley, the story of thy life is tolde,  
Here breath thy last and bid thy freindes farwell.  
And if thy Countries kindnes be so much,  
Then let thy Countrie kindly ring thy knell.

Because *The Battle of Alcazar* is one of the earliest expressions of the Stukley legend that has survived in popular literature, it is impossible to indicate sources for every detail of the Stukley subplot. Gossip and rumor may have contributed as much to Peele's plot as any of the early ballads and tracts mentioned above, for the Stukley plot includes characters that do not figure in Polemon's account of the battle, or in the printed literature of the Stukley legend that has survived. Where, for example, did Peele find the Irish Bishop, or Jonas? As for some of Peele's references to Stukley's career,<sup>55</sup> no certain source for these characters has been found. An examination of two or three details may suggest how Peele's imagination combined parts of the Stukley legend.

In the 6,000 men and the small fleet of l. 668 we have an example of Peele's handling of his material when he had before him the modest facts of Polemon's chronicle. Presumably the same showman's superiority to detail prompted other allusions in the Stukley plot. For instance, Peele insinuates into Stukley's company an "Irish Bishop," whom the governor of the port greeted as the "Most reverent primate of the Irish Church" (l. 386). Later Stukley's phrase for him is the "reverent lordly bishop of saint Asses" (l. 432). Are we dealing with a little spleen? Or a corrupt text?

The reports of spies often linked "an Irish Bishop" with Stukley and the so-called "Irish expedition"; generally in the early years of the plot they meant MacGibbon, Bishop of Cashel, who was actually working for the Geraldine cause and who mistrusted Stukley, but despair forced MacGibbon out of the negotiations long before Stukley left Italy in 1578. Another Irish bishop did accompany—but most unwillingly—"the Marquis of Ireland," though certainly he was not one of the "four leaders" of the expedition, as Stukley

55. For example, there is no evidence to support Peele's statement that Stukley was born in London.

told Sebastian (l. 709). The fact of the matter seems to be that when Stukley prepared to hoist sail, it occurred to him that he might grace his expedition with the presence of a few Irish ecclesiastics then living in Rome. Among them were Donat O'Gallagher, Bishop of Killala, a few priests, and three seminarians. They all displayed the greatest reluctance to accept the Englishman's invitation, so he had them shanghaied and locked up in the ship. Once in Lisbon, they learned about Stukley's newest determination to join the Portuguese *jornada*; of course they refused to have anything to do with the man.

Greg's guess was that—since the Bishop does not speak after this scene—"in the original version he refused Sebastian's offer." There's no knowing about the "original version," but it is certain that the Bishop of Killala did indeed refuse the king's offer in 1578 and the "Irish Bishop" somehow got handed down to Peele. The title "primate" was a gratuitous flourish of rhetoric, since the metropolitan see of Ireland was held by the Bishop of Armagh. But why was he also called the "bishop of saint Asses"? It looks like a mild case of anti-clericalism. It's just possible, however, that the confusions of gossip had somehow admitted another exiled bishop into the Stukley legend. In January 1565, Creagh, the Archbishop of Armagh, was imprisoned in the Tower. For his examination, a set of questions was drawn up by Cecil, and to the following question, Creagh gave this reply:

How many were acquainted with you in Rome being English or Irish, and by whom were you there succoured?

I answer that I saw and spoke sometimes with divers English and Irishmen, as Mr. Sekwhil [i.e. Thomas Sackville, afterwards Lord Buckhurst], the Earl of Derby's son, the Master of the English hospital called there the Bishop of Saint Asse, and others. . . .<sup>56</sup>

This of course was the Bishop of St. Asaph, Thomas Goldwell, who was deprived of his see by Elizabeth and spent the last ten years of his life in Rome, where he lived in the English hospital. It is not known that he had any connection with the Stukley plot. Apparently the freedom with which Peele shaped characters and

56. Quoted from State Papers by Ronan, pp. 120-121.

incidents allowed all manner of stray stories to be grafted onto the plot. The Stukley legend had been growing since the Captain's youth. Out of the chronicles and the rumors, Peele cobbled the Stukley plot of *Alcazar* to exhibit a man he obviously admired.

#### D. THE ANTI-SPANISH SUBPLOT

In the years that followed the Armada, Englishmen clamored "to propagate their honor vpon the greatest potentate of the vniuerse."<sup>1</sup> The ill-fated Portuguese expedition of Norris and Drake was greeted as a kind of "counter-Armada" in 1589,<sup>2</sup> and no English poet was happier about the expedition than George Peele, who in the months just before they sailed wrote *A Farewell* to Norris and Drake. *The Battle of Alcazar* and the *Farewell* must have been written about the same time; certainly they sprang from the same instinct: There was a general interest in contemporary Portuguese and Spanish affairs which Peele found easy to exploit. Presumably he had fun hacking out the caricature of Queen Eleanor in *Edward I*; in any event, his intensely anti-Spanish spirit has been remarked upon by virtually every critic of his work. It is not surprising, therefore, that Peele dealt freely with Nieto's pro-Spanish account of Philip as translated in *The Second booke of Battailes*, the principal source of *Alcazar*. After all, everybody knew about the King of Spain. Where Peele's imagination failed him, there were plenty of pamphlets and tracts to suggest a portrait of Philip II that would suit his audience.<sup>3</sup>

To the main business of *Alcazar*, then, Peele added a subordinate bit that closely parallels the story of Sebastian's preparations for

1. Stow, *Annales* (ed. 1651), p. 751.

2. The phrase was coined by Hume, *The Year after the Armada* (London, 1896); see esp. pp. 1-72 for his account of the Portuguese expedition.

3. Ten years after *Alcazar*, a typical accusation against Philip ran: "For he began to make those his preparations for that attempt [to invade Portugal] as soone as the King *Don Sebastian* did beginne to make prouision for his voyage; to whom he hauing promised fíue thousand souldiers and fiftie Gallies, when it came to the issue that hee should haue had them, he vtterlie refused to giue him any, to the intent that he might the sooner attaine to that hee desired." *A Treatise Paraenetical . . .* Translated out of the Castilian tongue into the French by I. D. Dralymont, Lord of Yarleme. And now Englished. London, Printed for William Ponsonby, 1598 [p. 75].

the African *jornada*. The "story" of the subplot might be summarized:

Having determined upon the expedition to Barbary, Sebastian sent Lewis de Silva with letters to request the aid of his uncle, Philip of Spain. Later the two monarchs met at Guadalupe to discuss the request and (a matter quite superfluous to the plot as it unfolds) the marriage of Sebastian and the Infanta Isabella.<sup>4</sup> After Sebastian had returned to his court, a Spanish embassy confirmed Philip's offer of military aid (and the hand of Isabella). Stukley remained behind a moment, after the embassy and the king departed, to comment on Spain's "double face" (l. 808). That Stukley's suspicions were not ungrounded Abdelmelec's speech in the next scene made clear: Abdelmelec had come to a secret understanding with Philip that, despite promises, Sebastian would get no help from Spain. When the Portuguese fleet arrived at Cadiz, the young king waited fifteen days for the promised forces, but the Spanish king pretended a "sodaine feare" of Turkish invasions and broke his promise. Sebastian sailed off in anger "as great Achilles earst." And there (III.3) the subplot abruptly breaks down. As the quarto text has survived, at least, no more was said of Philip's crookedness, and no attempt was made to bind up this theme with the denouement of the final act.<sup>5</sup>

The story as told by historians is not quite the same.<sup>6</sup> Certainly

4. Greg wrote: "I do not know whether there is any historical evidence for this project, but in 1570 it was a papal representative who mooted the question of a marriage between Sebastian and Margaret of Valois" (*Abridgements*, p. 113). For a contemporary account of the negotiations about the proposed marriage of Sebastian and the Infanta Isabella Clara Eugenia see the letters of Juan de Silva, Philip's ambassador to Portugal, in *Colección de Documentos inéditos para la Historia de España*, 28 (Madrid, 1856), 425-551. It was generally known that the Portuguese people expected Sebastian to marry and secure the succession of the crown.

5. The plot is quite subordinate to the main action. Of the 1452 lines in the quarto text, about a hundred are devoted to this anti-Spanish theme. Furthermore, the story is largely told by report.

6. The complicated negotiations have been summarized by Livermore (pp. 256-259): "In the middle of 1576 Sebastian sent an embassy to Philip II to propose an interview; to obtain collaboration against Larache, Sebastian would marry Philip's daughter. Philip at length agreed to meet Sebastian on December 22, at the Hieronymite monastery of Guadalupe. The parleys

Peele found a different story in *The Second booke of Battailes*, where it is made clear that Philip tried to dissuade Sebastian from his purpose but granted him men and supplies "when the King of Portugall continued constant."<sup>7</sup> Sebastian was not disappointed at Cadiz as Polemon tells the story: "The King being receiued with singular gratulation and ioy of the people, staied there fifteene dayes, for to prouide necessaries that he lacked, and that he might transport with him certaine bands of Spaniards, that were leuiued for him in *Andaluzia*. Which things being dispatched, he departed from Caliz" (sig. U1).

Although Peele altered Polemon's account of Philip to suit himself and his audience, hearsay contributed a number of details to make his notions of things seem plausible. Everybody knew, for example, that Spain's control of the Low Lands was desperately maintained at that time. Thus Stukley simply expressed a familiar rumor when he said:

Flanders I feare shall feelee the force of Spaine,  
Let Portugall fare as he may or can,  
Spaine meanes to spend no poulder on the moores. [ll. 818–820]

Just as familiar was the conjecture of the Governor of Tangier, that Spain

Pretends a sodaine feare and care to keepe  
His owne from Amuraths fierce invasion.

Philip's fears about Flanders and about the Turk were no pretense.<sup>8</sup> The fear of Turkish invasion was shared by all Christian princes,

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lasted ten days. Although Philip II was attended at the interviews by the Duke of Alba and Cristóvão de Moura, Sebastian appeared alone and unadvised. To the request for the hand of the Infanta, Philip returned a delaying answer, which satisfied the uncircumspect Sebastian. When asked for 5,000 men to go against Larache, Philip advanced reasons against the enterprise, but perceiving his nephew's obsession and the damping effect that a refusal would have on his own cherished influence in Portugal, he offered 50 galleys, men, and the sale of supplies, provided that his own military affairs would permit."

7. See especially Polemon's account of Philip's arguments, sig. T3<sup>v</sup>.

8. There is in the Sterling Library at Yale a rare collection of sixteenth and seventeenth-century tracts, many of them in German, that illustrate

but Spain was judged to have the greatest responsibility to keep the Turks from the borders of Hungary. For example, the Papal Nuncio in Spain wrote to the Cardinal of Como in April 1577, a year before Sebastian's African campaign:

if the King of Portugal, with his Catholic Majesty's aid, should attempt something in these parts of Africa, as there is talk of his doing, such a move would serve by way of pretext for our [English] expedition, as I have already written. I fear that the ardour of this other enterprise may be cooled by disquietude in regard to the Turk and lack of such a settlement of the affairs of Flanders as may relieve us of anxiety.<sup>9</sup>

Political speculation of this sort was the common knowledge of Peele's audience; it is not difficult to see how Peele might have come across most of his details in the anti-Spanish plot, nor is it difficult to understand why he altered Polemon's account of Philip's motives. The Spanish king's acts were inevitably suspect in the eyes of an English audience particularly after the Armada. There existed, moreover, at least one authority which Peele almost certainly followed for certain details in this underplot of *Alcazar*: a tract entitled *The Explanation. Of the True and Lawfull Right and Tytle, of the Moste Excellent Prince, Anthonie* (1585).<sup>10</sup> The author<sup>11</sup> of

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the apprehension that Europe felt when the Turks reassembled their forces after Lepanto and again threatened Italy and the old Empire countries, especially Hungary. This conflict between Christian and Turk, and the English literature to which it gave birth, has been studied by Chew (*The Crescent and the Rose*, 1937) but a great many books and manuscripts have not yet been studied or, indeed, even catalogued.

9. See *State Papers, Rome*, 1572-78, p. 302; also pp. 112, 240, 385, 526.

10. The title continues: "Together with a Briefe Historye of all that hath passed aboute that matter, vntill the yeare of our Lord, 1583. Translated into English and conferred with the French and Latine Copies. [decoration] By the commaundement and order of the Superiors. At Leyden. In the Printing house of Christopher Plantyn. 1585."

11. This propagandist tract, which the house of Christopher Plantin issued in Latin, French, and English translations, was either written by Don Antonio himself or "at any rate under his direction by one or other of his Portuguese suite." See Henry Thomas, "English Translations of Portuguese Books before 1640," *Library*, Ser. 4, 7 (1926), 12. See also E. M. Tenison, *Elizabethan England*, 4 (Royal Leamington Spa, 1933), 38-44. Miss Teni-

*The Explanation* briefly explains Sebastian's resolution to restore Muly Mahamet to his kingdom, and gives this account of Philip's crooked dealing:

And for the better accomplishment thereof, hee [Sebastian] prayed his vncke King *Phillip* of *Castile* to vouchsafe some ayde vnto him in that beehalfe. The King of *Castile* graunting this petition, promised to ayde him, with fiftie Gallies well appointed and furnished, and foure thousand armed soul-dyours. King *Sebastian* trusting thereunto, with all care and dilligence prepared his armye. . . . But the King of *Castile*, vnder pretence that the greate Turke, prepared an Armye for that yeare, not onelye denyed to performe his promise, but also (that is farre woorse) caused a proclamation to bee made and published thorowoute all *Spayne* . . . whereby all his subiectes were commaunded vppon great pennalties that none of them shoulde accompanye Kinge *Sebastian* in that Voyage.<sup>12</sup>

The propagandist nature of the tract is obvious: "there can no other coniecture bee gathered," the author says

sauing onely that the king of *Castile* by his vnmesurable ambition & insatiable desire to haue dominion, neither coueted nor

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son argues that Claude Desainliens (*dit Hollyband*) translated the tract into English, and that *The Explanation* was translated "at the bidding of some great official," possibly Lord Burghley. The political significance of *The Explanation* is enhanced by Miss Tenison's discoveries, but her discussion must be carefully checked, because some of her statements in her chapter on *Alcazar* are manifestly inaccurate; see 3, 111-149.

12. *The Explanation*, p. 3. It might also be mentioned here that *The Explanation* seems also to be the source of certain scenes in *C.T.S.* Something has already been said about the relation of certain interpolated scenes in that play to Peele's *Alcazar*. A detailed examination of the evidence does not fall within the scope of this study, but the most obvious passages may be pointed out. Cf., for example, the passage from *The Explanation* quoted above, and the dumb show in *C.T.S.*, sig. K1; ed. Simpson, pp. 248-249. Cf. also the specific reference to *el puerto de Sancta Maria* in *The Explanation*, p. 3, with *C.T.S.*, sig. I3<sup>v</sup>; ed. Simpson, p. 221. Cf. also *The Explanation*, p. 4, and the chorus of *C.T.S.*, sigs. K1-K1<sup>v</sup>; ed. Simpson, p. 249. The relationship of these scenes in *C.T.S.* to *The Explanation* has not—as far as I know—been pointed out before.

hoped for any other thing then onely that the yong prince king *Sebastian* his nephew, for want of sufficient force, should be ouerthrowne and come to destruction in the same Iourney, so as thereupon the said king of *Castile* might by that meane haue oportunity to ioyn the kingdome of *Portugall* to his kingdome of *Castile* as it came to passe. [pp. 3-4]

It is an almost inescapable conclusion that Peele followed *The Explanation* for the outline of his anti-Spanish plot in *Alcazar*. To the account in the political tract, Peele added certain details from *The Second booke of Battailes*, such as the specific mention of the fifteen days' wait at Cadiz, but Peele's basic concept of Philip's motives was identical with that found in *The Explanation*. This conclusion seems to be confirmed by ll. 835-848. The reference to the "offer of the seven holdes" has never been satisfactorily explained, but the rest of the speech seems to be based on this assertion in *The Explanation*:

Further there be certaine persons who affirme, that after the death of the sayde king *Maluco* [i.e. Abdelmelec], there was found in his pocket a letter written vnto him from king *Phillip* wherein he assured king *Maluco*, that king *Sebastian* nephew of the saide king *Phillip* shounde [*sic*] haue no ayde at his handes, whereby may be perceaued a great vnfaithfullnes of king *Phillip* against his owne blood. [p. 4]

Thus in the propagandist tract entitled *The Explanation*, Peele seems to have discovered an account of Philip's role in the battle of Alcazar that better matched the taste of Englishmen than did the pro-Spanish account in *The Second booke of Battailes*, the principal source of his main plot. As the quarto text stands, however, the subplot is quite incidental to the real business of the play, and nothing is said of Philip's guile after the third scene in the third act. The implication, of course, is clear: Philip's defection contributed to Portugal's defeat. Samuel Chew remarked that "Englishmen, moved by Stukeley's gallant death in Africa, were inclined to forget his intended treachery and to remember him as a martyr to Spanish perfidy."<sup>13</sup> Chew was apparently thinking about the

13. *The Crescent and the Rose*, p. 525. As late as 1624 the fanaticism of Thomas Scott's anti-Spanish prejudices led him to make all manner of wild

reputation of Stukley as reported in 2 *If You Know Not Me* and the later ballads about the "famous Captain Stukley," but it is apparent that Peele, many years before Heywood, had the same feeling about Stukley—and enjoyed his chance to deal sympathetically with an English martyr to Spanish guile.

#### 4. THE THEATRICAL PLOT

A theatrical plot is a playhouse document that gives the skeletal outline of a play.<sup>1</sup> Only seven of these documents have survived from the last decade of Elizabeth's reign; and of these, only four have been completely preserved.<sup>2</sup> A few common characteristics may be noted.

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statements about Philip, who (according to Scott) did "precipitate, and throw *Sebastian King of Portingall* into vnnecessary and unfortunate warres of *Affrica* against the Moores, where hee losed his life with his ambition." Later in the same pamphlet, Elizabeth is made to say: "King *Philip* beg'd my Kingdome of Ireland of the Pope, and so assisted the Rebells, and made a confedracy with them for the Conquest therof from me, bringing in first *Stukley*, then *Don Iuan of Aquilla* into that Kingdome to the same efect." *Vox Coeli, or Newes From Heaven . . .* Written by S.R.N.I. [Thomas Scott], Printed in Elisium [Utrecht?], 1624 [pp. 10, 52].

1. Some writers have called these documents "plats," because the word is spelled "platt" in the heading of 2 *Seven Deadly Sins*, the first of these playhouse documents that was printed; but in the four others that preserve their headings the word is spelled "plott." The theatrical plot, of course, is not to be confused with the even rarer document sometimes called the "author-plot"; see J. Q. Adams, "The Author-Plot of an Early Seventeenth Century Play," *The Library*, Ser. 4, 26 (1945), 17-27.

2. The actual playhouse documents of three plots have survived in good condition: *The Dead Man's Fortune*, 2 *Seven Deadly Sins*, and *Frederick and Basilea*. The plot of 1 *Tamar Cam* is known only from a transcript by George Steevens, first printed in 1803. Besides the plot of *Alcazar*, which is mutilated, there exist fragments of two other plots: 2 *Fortune's Tennis* and *Troilus and Cressida*. To these may be added the broadside entitled "The Plot of the Play, called *Englands Ioy*." The best facsimile reproductions of these documents may be seen in W. W. Greg, *Dramatic Documents from the Elizabethan Playhouses* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1931), 2 (Reproductions and Transcripts), plates I-VIII; this second volume is a very large folio. The plots are of great importance for the study of the acting companies to which they belonged, particularly for the history of the Lord Admiral's Company.

The plots were designed for the guidance of the prompter and the actors: to record the entrances and exits of the characters, to indicate which actors were to appear in the various roles, what stage properties were needed, and what noises were to be made off stage. Although it seems reasonable to suppose that the seven extant plots at one time belonged either to the Lord Admiral's or to Lord Strange's company, and were all once in the possession of Edward Alleyn, Greg suggested that similar documents must have been "usual, if not universal, in Elizabethan playhouses."<sup>3</sup>

Physically, the plot consisted of a thin board on either side of which was pasted a sheet of paper roughly measuring sixteen inches by twelve. These sheets were divided by ruled lines into two main columns, each with a narrow margin. At the top of the plot was cut a small hole by which the plot could be suspended for reference during the performance of a play.

The plot of *Alcazar* has been most painstakingly studied by one of the greatest of English bibliographers. Over a period of twenty-four years, W. W. Greg published the results of his examination in four studies, each of which represents an increasingly refined palaeological examination of the theatrical document itself.<sup>4</sup> Students interested in the intricate problems are best advised to examine Greg's "reconstructed transcript of the plot," as printed in *Two Elizabethan Stage Abridgements*. It may be sufficient here to summarize only the most general of his conclusions:

The plot of *Alcazar* survives in a mutilated state: the second or right-hand column of the front sheet has decayed, but it is clear that the front sheet describes the action of the play to the end of the fourth act only. The description of the fifth act must have been written on the back, but with the exception of a few puzzling fragments the second sheet of paper has been lost.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 4.

4. See the following studies by Greg: *Henslowe Papers* (London, 1907), pp. 138-141, an early and imperfect transcript of the plot; "'Bad' Quartos Outside Shakespeare—'Alcazar' and 'Orlando,'" *Library*, Ser. 3, 10 (1919), 193-222; *Two Elizabethan Stage Abridgements* (Oxford, 1923), pp. 1-77; *Dramatic Documents from the Elizabethan Playhouses*, 1 (Commentary), pp. 144-159. To these may be added another article, "The Evidence of Theatrical Plots for the History of the Elizabethan Stage," *RES*, 1 (1925), 257-274.

The Plot of the Bevell  
Of Alcazar

Enter a for mall to him m. R. G. Alley h. Jan  
 Enter Muly Mahomett and Ed. Allen by some  
 Antho. Jakes mooves attendant m. Say m. thout  
 c w. Chaucer h. n. Pages to attend the moor  
 m. Jakes buy to. To come by to them 2  
 young brethren. Bab. a Harry to them  
 Hood. Enter R. Kendall. See smil

John Douglmelcs m<sup>r</sup> Doughton Clerk  
 John m<sup>r</sup> John m<sup>r</sup> Charles m<sup>r</sup> Charles m<sup>r</sup>  
 John m<sup>r</sup> John m<sup>r</sup> John m<sup>r</sup> John m<sup>r</sup>  
 George m<sup>r</sup> John m<sup>r</sup> John m<sup>r</sup> John m<sup>r</sup>  
 John m<sup>r</sup> John m<sup>r</sup> John m<sup>r</sup> John m<sup>r</sup>  
 John m<sup>r</sup> John m<sup>r</sup> John m<sup>r</sup> John m<sup>r</sup>

Enter into chariot ply 3. 4 small  
Carpenter on each side  
moor's attendant 1/2 of Mr. H. H.  
w. Cartwright and some of the  
Anthony Joffe. 1/2 of Sam. H. H.  
The rest of them and Sam. H. H.

Enter the presenter to him  
I doubt how  
that your nemesis should be  
from 3 books of sondall deligment  
from ymighen the Cret. Ro. I  
I'm sure you're a greater C.  
a white a pulch. with a body  
the p. with a chaff. or is

Form. Enter. Abdolmalek mahamed  
Calcepinus Basha. Dal. Abd.  
Abd. Basha. Abd. Basha. Abd. Basha.  
Form. Form. Dal. De. Dal.

Enter Diego Lopez, Governor of Asbi  
me Rich. Allons suivez le. Jours  
flor culs. e an josh. Enfluy m  
Towns. Le Tailor. e l'ondall. e ne  
Thaa. & om

Enter Mully Mahamet Calipos.  
Yom y mahamet C 3 moogs w: Achind  
yom y mahamet ex muly mahamet dinct  
further rest h them muly mahamet  
clay y yom flesh broont manet muly mahamet

Enter 2 pages. Sebastian a page  
 Thomas Duke of Barah, ms Charles  
 his wife of Aurora ms Julie & Emily & E  
 Bina ms Jones Comly Vimalo  
 George Bishop of de fauore & de  
 Gulio to whom 2 moose Embassadors  
 in Sam ms Hunt c 2 pages  
 negroes amongst the rest in their stables  
 some times Hercules, c Irish Bishop

Enter the presenter, together with  
the dumb show  
the chief is above the door  
the three friends come in the  
cater Gene Sommers

and 2. <sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup> <sup>3</sup> <sup>4</sup> <sup>5</sup> <sup>6</sup> <sup>7</sup> <sup>8</sup> <sup>9</sup> <sup>10</sup> <sup>11</sup> <sup>12</sup> <sup>13</sup> <sup>14</sup> <sup>15</sup> <sup>16</sup> <sup>17</sup> <sup>18</sup> <sup>19</sup> <sup>20</sup> <sup>21</sup> <sup>22</sup> <sup>23</sup> <sup>24</sup> <sup>25</sup> <sup>26</sup> <sup>27</sup> <sup>28</sup> <sup>29</sup> <sup>30</sup> <sup>31</sup> <sup>32</sup> <sup>33</sup> <sup>34</sup> <sup>35</sup> <sup>36</sup> <sup>37</sup> <sup>38</sup> <sup>39</sup> <sup>40</sup> <sup>41</sup> <sup>42</sup> <sup>43</sup> <sup>44</sup> <sup>45</sup> <sup>46</sup> <sup>47</sup> <sup>48</sup> <sup>49</sup> <sup>50</sup> <sup>51</sup> <sup>52</sup> <sup>53</sup> <sup>54</sup> <sup>55</sup> <sup>56</sup> <sup>57</sup> <sup>58</sup> <sup>59</sup> <sup>60</sup> <sup>61</sup> <sup>62</sup> <sup>63</sup> <sup>64</sup> <sup>65</sup> <sup>66</sup> <sup>67</sup> <sup>68</sup> <sup>69</sup> <sup>70</sup> <sup>71</sup> 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1. *James* 2. *Camden*  
 3. *Walter* 4. *Walter*  
 5. *Walter* 6. *Walter*  
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The scribe who prepared the plot of *Alcazar* also wrote the plot of *Troilus and Cressida*, only a fragment of which survives. This scribe's hand is not very regular; students of the play must be grateful for Greg's meticulous reconstruction of the mutilated document, now preserved in the British Museum (MS Add. 10,449, fol. 3).

The plot seems to have been prepared not for the original production of *Alcazar* by the Admiral's men in 1589 but for a revival of the play by the later Admiral's Company. The exact date of this revival has been the subject of controversy, but the evidence of actors' names in the cast led Greg to assign the plot "to the three months Dec. 1598 to Feb. 1599."<sup>5</sup> Whatever disagreement there may be about the exact date of the plot, it is clear that the document is later than the quarto, printed in 1594. The plot of *Alcazar* is the only plot for which there has survived a text of the corresponding play; and it is therefore the key to the whole series of these play-house documents.

The quarto text of *Alcazar* represents an abridged version of the play, a version presumably designed for a small company acting in the provinces. The plot represents a later, full production by the Admiral's men either at the Rose or at the Fortune. The fuller stage directions recorded in the plot therefore add considerably to our knowledge of the play in many places where the quarto has been truncated, and much of this evidence from the plot has been incorporated into this edition of the play.

The plot gives particularly full details about the number of actors that appear in each scene, and about the stage properties required for the productions of the play. Its descriptions of the first four dumb shows contribute a great deal to our understanding of the quarto, in which these very scenes are seriously truncated or altered. There is reason to suppose, furthermore, that the plot directions, and not those of the quarto, represent the original version of the play. Many details from the plot, for that reason, have been admitted as conjectural readings into the stage directions of this edition of the play. The problems raised by each emendation will be discussed in the notes.

The plot does not record the formal act and scene divisions but

5. *Dramatic Documents*, 1, 146.

regularly and correctly numbers the dumb shows that introduce the first four acts of the play (the quarto is clear about the last one). The plot is also perfectly regular in marking final exits for each scene, and in separating the descriptions of the various scenes by a horizontal rule. This, coupled with internal evidence in the quarto itself, allows the editor of the play to make act and scene divisions with confidence. (In this early play, at least, these conventions of act division—so often questioned today—apparently meant something to Peele himself, who took the trouble to mark off five divisions of his play.)

The plot of *Alcazar*, like that of *Troilus and Cressida*, records several sound effects, of which there remain but few indications in the quarto. The blare of trumpets is indicated by the directions “sound” or “sound sennett” twelve times in the plot.

Many stage properties are mentioned either in the main text of the plot or in the margins. Some of the same properties appear in the quarto (such as the chariot, and the gob of raw flesh for the Moor’s most ranting scene), but the list of properties in the plot indicates that the full version of *Alcazar* was a far more elaborate production than the version preserved in the quarto, and that many allusions in the Presenter’s speeches were not just rhetorical but to actual spectacles in the dumb shows. The plot descriptions of all four dumb shows illustrate this, but none of them better than that of the induction to the third act.

The quarto preserves no trace of the third dumb show, but merely records the entrance of the Presenter, whose twenty-two line speech is suspiciously short. It seems reasonable to suppose that this speech originally contained a regular commentary on the pantomime show, much like that to the second induction scene; and because this commentary would have been meaningless without the show itself (too elaborate for a touring company to handle), it was apparently omitted in the shortened version represented by the quarto. Fortunately the plot preserves a rather full description of the original scene:

Enter the Presenter : to [them] him  
                           3 . domb shew  
 Enter Nemesis aboue : Tho : Drom

	<to> her 3 . Furies bringin<g>in the <
	Scales : Georg Somersett <Tom P>ars<ons>
	and Robin Tailo<r :> to them <3.> diu<e>lls
_____	mr Sam : H Ieffes <& Antho : Ieffes to>
3 . violls	them 3 ghosts <:> w. <kendall Dab & Harry>
of blood	the Furies [Fech] <First Fech in Sebastian>
& a sheeps	& Carrie him out <again, which done they>
gather	Fech in Stukeley <& Carrie him out, then>
_____	bring in the Moo<re & Carrie him out : exeunt> <sup>6</sup>

It is clear from this description that in the third dumb show, as in the second, Nemesis appears on the balcony "above" and that on the stage below enter the already familiar Furies, this time bringing in scales. As Greg suggested, the scales indicate a judgment scene in which Sebastian, Stukley, and the Moor (or their deeds) are weighed in the presence of Nemesis.<sup>7</sup> In any event, there next enter to the Furies three devils and three ghosts. Then the Furies hale in Sebastian, Stukley, and Mahamet, apparently to butcher them on the stage in a crudely realistic scene, for a marginal note in the plot refers to three vials of blood and a sheep's "gather," i.e. liver, lungs, and heart. On the basis of this evidence in the plot, then, it has been possible to reconstruct the following stage direction that may be close to the direction in the original playhouse book:

[*The Third dumbe shew*

*Enter Nemesis aboue. Enter to her three Furies bringing in the scales. To them enter three diuells. Then enter to them three ghosts. The Furies first fech in Sebastian and carrie him out againe, which done they fech in Stukley and carrie him out, then bring in the Moore and carrie him out. Exeunt shew.]*

Other emendations and additions to the stage directions will be discussed in the notes. This is the first edition of *The Battle of Alcazar* that utilizes all the work Greg expended on his examination of the plot. To his most careful scholarship I am heavily indebted.

6. See Greg's reconstruction of the plot in *Abridgements*, pp. 31-32.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 56 n.

## 5. THE TEXT

Stationers' Registers: No entry.

There is only one early edition of the play known to exist:

1594. [Ornament] THE / BATTELL / OF ALCAZAR,  
FOVGHT / in Barbarie, betweene Sebastian king / of Por-  
tugall, and Abdelmelec king / of Marocco. With the / death  
of Captaine / *Stukeley*. / As it was sundrie times plaid by the  
Lord high Admi- / rall his seruants. [Printer's device, Mc-  
Kerrow, No. 290] Imprinted at London by Edward Allde for  
Richard / Bankworth, and are to be solde at his shoppe in /  
Pouls Churchyard at the signe of the / Sunne. 1594.

H.T.] [Ornament] The Tragicall battell of Alcazar in Barba- /  
rie. With the death of three Kings, and / Captaine Stukley an  
Englishman.

R.T.] The battell of Alcazar / in Barbarie.

Explicit] *Here endeth the tragicall battell of Alcazar.*

Collation: 4°, A-F4, G<sup>2</sup>, 26 leaves unnumbered, roman.

Contents: A1, title; A1<sup>v</sup>, blank: A2-G1<sup>v</sup>, text: G2, blank (missing  
in some copies).

Catchwords: A-B, Of C-D, Time F-G, With [explicit]

Variants: The following variant readings have been noted in the  
quartos examined: <sup>1</sup>

H.T., line 1, and R.T., sig. A3<sup>v</sup>:

"Alcazar" Folger 1, Morgan, Harvard, Huntington, Brit-  
ish Museum, Worcester 2.

"Alcazzar" all others (Eton copy bled, R.T., A3<sup>v</sup>).

709, sig. D:

1. Extant copies of the quarto are numerous. Fourteen have been collated for this edition: the copy in the Elizabethan Club at Yale, in the Pierpont Morgan Library, the Harvard College Library, the University of Texas Library, the Henry E. Huntington Library, and three copies in the Folger Shakespeare Library: Folger 1 (< Hawkins < Adee), Folger 2 (< Warwick Castle), Folger 3 (< McKee). Also the Dyce copy in the Victoria and Albert Museum, the Malone copy in the Bodleian, one copy in the British Museum (C.34.b.1), the copy in the Eton Library, and two copies in the Worcester College Library: W.1 (G1 def.) and W.2 (G2 missing). To these libraries I owe thanks.

“fore” British Museum.

“foure” all others.

1266, sig. F2<sup>v</sup>:

“borse” British Museum, Victoria and Albert Museum.

“horse” all others.

No seventeenth or eighteenth-century editions are known to exist.

### *Modern Editions:*

1828, 1829, 1861 (Dyce). *The Works of George Peele*: Now First Collected. with some Account of His Writings, and Notes: by the Rev. Alexander Dyce, A.B. In Two Volumes. London: William Pickering, MDCCCXXVIII. [Vol. 2, pp. 2–63.]

In modern spelling. A few notes, textual and explanatory, are given at the foot of the page.

In 1829 a “Second Edition with Additions” appeared, but there were no significant changes in the text of *Alcazar* (pp. 81–146), which is essentially a reprint of the first edition. Therefore the abbreviation “Dyce 2” in the collations and notes may be understood to refer to both the first and second editions of 1828 and 1829.<sup>2</sup>

In 1861 Dyce printed the text of Peele’s works together with those of Greene: *The Dramatic and Poetical Works of Robert Greene and George Peele*, London, George Routledge and Sons, 1861. “Important alterations, corrections, and additions” were made throughout this new edition, including the text and notes of *Alcazar* (pp. 417–440). “Dyce 3” refers to this edition, although I worked with a reprint published in 1883. There was another reprint in 1879. “Dyce+” in the collations or notes may be understood to mean that all Dyce’s readings are in substantial agreement on the word, or punctuation, or other matter in question.

1888 (Bullen). *The Works of George Peele*, edited by A. H. Bullen. In Two Volumes. London: John C. Nimmo, MDCCCLXXXVIII. [Vol. 1, pp. 227–296.]

2. In 1839 Dyce added a third volume, “A Supplement to the second edition” of 1829. This volume includes additional notes to *Alcazar*, pp. 197–199.

In modern spelling. Bullen generally accepted the readings in Dyce's third edition, but altered a number of stage directions and added a few notes.

1907 (Greg). *The Battle of Alcazar*, Printed for the Malone Society by Charles Whittingham and Co., at the Chiswick Press, 1907.

This facsimile edition of the quarto text was prepared by W. W. Greg and checked by Frank Sidgwick. A British Museum copy (C.34.b.1) and the Dyce copy were "collated throughout" for this edition; the Bodleian and Huth copies were "consulted on specific points." A list of "Irregular and Doubtful Readings" was printed on p. vii. Act and scene divisions were added in the outer margins. The typographical lines, including stage directions and even verse turnovers, were counted straight through. There was a brief textual note but no critical or explanatory notes. The facsimile of the text itself is scrupulously accurate.

The bibliographical examination of the 1594 text undertaken for this edition confirms Greg's "Criticism of the Quarto Text," published in his *Two Elizabethan Stage Abridgements*, 1922.

The quarto text of *Alcazar* is an abridged version of the full playhouse copy of the play, a version adapted, as Greg reasoned, "for representation in a limited time, by a comparatively small cast, with the minimum of theatrical paraphernalia" (*Abridgements*, p. 15). The evidence of the plot indicates that some of the dumb shows, and generally those that demand elaborate stage properties, have been excised, but in the first four acts at least no scene has been wholly suppressed. And despite the fact that the plot does not include a description of III.2, there is no reason to suppose that any new matter has been added or that the sequence of scenes has been altered.

Evidence in the text itself indicates the omission and the reduction of speeches to shorten the length of the performance. The text, first of all, is suspiciously short. It contains, according to the count in this edition, only 1,452 lines of verse, or 1,591 type-lines according to the count of the Malone Society Reprint. These may be

divided into 13 scenes, of which the shortest (III.2) contains only 30 lines, and the longest, 259.<sup>3</sup>

It is further evident that many speeches have been clumsily pruned, for the reviser's hand is sometimes betrayed by the most apparent anacoluthons. Evidence of pruning is particularly apparent in some of Sebastian's long speeches, although Sebastian still has the longest role, a total of 223 lines. The Moor has 210 lines. The omission of a final mark of punctuation at the conclusion of some speeches also indicates that lines have probably been excised from the original version.

This evidence indicates cutting to reduce the length of the performance. Other evidence indicates cutting to eliminate the parts of characters, especially in crowded scenes. It must be assumed that the quarto represents a production of the play by a small company of actors that included few boys.<sup>4</sup> Clues in the text itself indicate that the role of the Moor's wife, Calypolis, has been eliminated in I.2—a conjecture supported by evidence in the plot, which also indicates that other parts have been lopped. The stage directions often mark the appearance of principal characters who do not speak in the scene as printed; and there is evidence of the doubling of parts in the production represented by the quarto. For example, see the erroneous prefixes *Zareo* (l. 514), *Hercules* (l. 1301), and *Ionas* (l. 1321).

These, then, are the most general characteristics of the quarto text, which represents an imperfect, abbreviated version of the original prompt copy. How this simplified and somewhat mutilated version reached the hands of Richard Bankworth and then Edward

3. Greg has pointed out that *Macbeth*, which is generally considered to be a truncated text, has 2,106 lines, or almost half again as many lines as the text of *Alcazar*. The length of these texts may be contrasted with the second quarto of *Hamlet*, which has 3,719 lines, and the very short text of *Jack Straw*, which has about 950. Few critics will question Greg's statement that "a length of 1,500 lines or less, though perhaps not itself proving abbreviation, at least lays a text open to serious suspicion" (*Abridgements*, p. 94).

4. According to Greg, the "minimum cast" of the quarto version would include about sixteen actors, including two boys; see *Abridgements*, pp. 119-123.

Allde, cannot be conjectured with any assurance, but it is clear that in the process of printing, a few more corruptions crept into the text. An unusual number of typographical errors will be observed in the second Induction and in IV.2. The fifth act, on the other hand, is better, although presumably it too has been revised throughout and abbreviated. A few curious spellings like *Austria* (for "Ostia") and *Aldest* (for "Aulis") suggest that the ear of the compositor (or perhaps the ear of the reviser) was responsible for some of the errors in the text. Greg's cautious judgment about the text expresses my own view:

When a fairly liberal allowance has been made for a scribe or compositor who was very careless as to punctuation and very ignorant in the matter of classical names, and who worked without much perspicacity at a sometimes rather confused copy; when, moreover, we have accounted for a number of dislocations in that copy by supposing that it had suffered from rather drastic and clumsy excision; and when, lastly, it is admitted that the play, even as it left the author's hands, was probably by no means free from blemishes; then, subject to these limitations, it may be claimed that the text preserved to us in the Quarto is in the main a sound one. [*Abridgements*, p. 101]

The purpose of the present edition is to make available a good text of the play based upon the only authoritative text known, the quarto of 1594. The abbreviated quarto presents a number of problems to the editor. Excisions have left puzzling and incomplete speeches that sometimes include problems of punctuation and line arrangement. Since, however, it is impossible to know what has been cut from the various speeches, very few emendations have been admitted.

Ordinarily the spellings of the original text are allowed to stand, since they may represent some individual peculiarity of the manuscript used as copy. The only exceptions to this rule follow the conventions established in the first volume of this edition: *i*, *j*, *u* and *v* are changed to conform with modern usage, long *s* is altered to modern *s*, *vv* to *w*, *æ* to *ae*. Distinctions between italic and roman type have been disregarded except in the stage directions. A few

obvious misprints like *Veptune* for *Neptune* and *Nenus* for *Venus* have been corrected. Also, the names of characters have been normalized within the text of the dialogue and in the stage directions. For these, the spellings most frequently used in the text of the speeches have been preferred. Thus the spelling of *Abdelmelec* is used throughout, although the quarto sometimes prints *Abdilmelec* and, once, *Abdilmelecke*. The spelling *Calcepius Bassa* in the text has been preferred to *Calsepius Bassa* in the stage directions. The spelling *Stukley* has been preferred to *Stukeley*, which is printed on the title page but only occasionally in the text itself. The names of other characters have all been normalized in this way, and the reading of the copy text is always recorded.

It is difficult to know how to correct an apparently erroneous passage in a text as truncated as this, since the key to the correct reading may have been altogether lopped off. There are a few instances, however, in which a single word in the text is clearly corrupt and cannot represent what Peele wrote. For these passages, a few emendations have been admitted into the text.

The punctuation of the quarto is not careless by the standards of other sixteenth-century texts and has therefore been scrupulously respected. With the exception of closing all speeches with a period, very few changes have been made in the punctuation of the text.

Because there are no prose passages, the original lineation has been faithfully followed, except that verse turnovers have not been slavishly reproduced since it is clear that quite mechanical exigencies forced the printer to break a long line when he came to the edge of his frame.

Certain "accessories" of the copy text have been normalized, i.e. act and scene divisions, stage directions, and speech prefixes.

Several stage directions present no problem and are reproduced exactly as they appear in the quarto text; for a few others the authority of the plot together with evidence in the text itself suggests a few additions (which have always been indicated by square brackets). For three others—see the first and the fourth dumb shows—more extensive changes have been made, changes that involve not only additions but also the placing of these directions to fit the descriptions of the dumb shows, according to Greg's interpretation of the plot; these "amalgamated" stage directions have

been indicated by pointed brackets. All changes and additions have been discussed in the explanatory notes.

The nearly eighty stage directions in the quarto are frequently printed in italic, but more than a score of them are in roman (most of them in the fifth act). It was Greg's conjecture that "one set belongs to the original and the other to the revision: that the transcriber followed the habitual practice of writing the directions in an Italian script (whence the italic type), while the reviser, who was not a regular scribe, when he had to restore or insert directions himself, did so in the same English hand that he used for the text (whence the roman type)." <sup>1</sup> The distinction has been preserved in the present edition.

By means of the plot I have attempted to reconstruct stage directions in the first four acts as they might conceivably have appeared in the original, fuller version of the play. The most significant of these reconstructions are the dumb shows in the Induction scenes of Acts II, III, and IV. As has been noted, there remains no trace of the third dumb show in the quarto, and scarcely more than a fragment of the stage directions for the second and fourth pantomime actions. This edition also attempts to restore the names of characters and brief descriptions of stage business that have, presumably, been omitted from the abbreviated version of the play. The authority for these conjectural reconstructions is to be found in the plot; sometimes they are supported by clues in the text.

It is not necessarily true that the plot represents the original version of the play with absolute fidelity, or even that the directions in the plot always antedate the directions in the quarto. In the first place, the plot was drawn up sometime after 1597, and may represent modifications of the original version made to meet the immediate circumstances of the Lord Admiral's Company at the time. In the second place, when the quarto prints a vague direction like *Manet Stukley and another*, it might be supposed that this represents the author's direction which the plotter, because he had to be specific about cast assignments, changed to read "manet Stukeley and Duke of Averro" (see l. 805).

The examples of a vague quarto direction and a parallel but specific plot direction, however, are rare; and *no* direction in the

1. *Abridgements*, pp. 99-100.

quarto is flatly contrary to the description of the same scene in the plot. Rather, in scene after scene, the plot descriptions suggest a rather spectacular production, with elaborate stage properties, by a fairly large company of actors, whereas the quarto shows signs of cutting to reduce the cast and to get along without spectacular stage properties. Setting aside, then, the question of absolute fidelity, there is reason to suppose that the plot descriptions more closely approximate the original version (and reflect Peele's known taste for the spectacular) than do the directions in the printed play. It would seem to be to the advantage of the reader if the plot descriptions were incorporated into the stage directions, especially in those scenes where the quarto is pruned. This is particularly true of the dumb shows, which are among the most interesting characteristics of the play. How much more meaningful, for example, is the Presenter's speech in the second Induction if it is seen to be a commentary on a dumb show in which Nemesis appears on the stage with three Furies, one with a whip, one with a bloody torch, and one with a chopping knife. In other scenes the plot descriptions merely confirm evidence in the text itself that some character has been ousted from the direction in the original version. Thus in I.2, Calypolis is not mentioned in the initial stage direction, nor does she speak, but her presence in the original version is betrayed by the address "Madame" which the reviser left standing by oversight. In still other scenes (as II.4, III.4, and IV.2) the plot indicates a more elaborate show and a more crowded stage than one would imagine from reading the quarto text alone.

A word about the form of the emended or reconstructed stage directions: Considerations of space have sometimes made it necessary to take certain liberties with the line arrangement of the plot and to omit all the brackets of Greg's reconstructions when plot readings are recorded in the collation notes. The reproduction of the plot in the explanatory notes, however, is faithful to all the details of Greg's reconstruction. Normalized spellings have been adopted for all names of characters in the directions as in the speeches. All the additions to directions that have been introduced from the plot have been italicized and put in square brackets. There has been no attempt to reconstruct "descriptive" or "literary" stage directions as sometimes suggested by Greg's analysis of the

plot. Rather, the reconstructions copy as closely as possible the technical phrases of the plot, the plot spellings and punctuation; since some parts of the plot are hopelessly mutilated, at these places I have accepted all the conjectural readings of Greg. In the explanatory notes, these purely conjectural readings are printed in italics between pointed brackets. A glance at a photographic reproduction of the plot will be helpful in understanding the extent of Greg's conjectural readings. Photographic facsimiles may be seen in Greg's *Abridgements* and especially (a very large one) in his *Dramatic Documents*, and in Halliwell's *Theatre Plats of Three Old English Dramas*.

Readers of *Alcazar* always find it difficult to keep in mind the names and relationships of the various Moorish characters. The names of three, in particular, cause confusion: the villain Muly Mahamet, who is called the Moor, his brother who is called Muly Mahamet Seth, and the villain's son, who is also called Muly Mahamet. In the interest of clarity, therefore, speech ascriptions have been normalized. Generally the selection has been determined by the speech prefix first used in the quarto or by the one most frequently used. All the emendations for uniformity have been recorded in the collations at the bottom of the page.

Editorial brackets have not been introduced into the text of the speeches (although they have sometimes been used for additions to the stage directions). The form of collation adopted may be illustrated by a reference to I, Induction, 8.

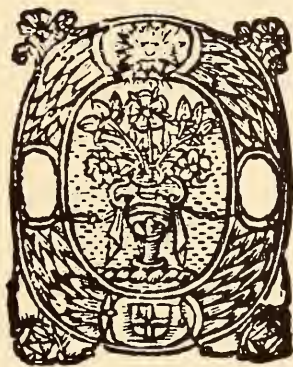


THE  
BATTLE

OF ALCAZAR, FOUGHT

in Barbarie, betweene Sebastian king  
of Portugall, and Abdelmelec king  
of Marocco. With the  
death of Captaine  
*Stukeley.*

As it was sundrie times plaid by the Lord high Admi-  
rall his seruants.



Imprinted at London by Edward Allde for Richard  
Bankworth, and are to be solde at his shoppe in  
Pouls Churchyard at the signe of the  
Sunne. 1594.

## [LIST OF CHARACTERS:

The Presenter.

Abdelmelec,<sup>1</sup> uncle to the Moor.

Argerd Zareo, his follower.

Celybin, another follower.

Calcepius Bassa.

Muly Mahamet Seth (Xeque),<sup>2</sup> brother to Abdelmelec.

Muly Mahamet, the Moor.

Muly Mahamet, the Moor's son.

Pisano, the Moor's captain.

Diego Lopis, governor of Lisbon.

Tom Stukley.

Jonas and Hercules, captains in Stukley's service.

An Irish Bishop.

Sebastian, king of Portugal.

The Duke of Averro.

The Duke of Barceles.

Lewes de Sylva.

Christopher de Tavera.

Don de Menysis, governor of Tangier.

Lord Lodowicke Caesar.

County Vinioso.

Abdil Rayes, wife to Abdelmelec.

Rubin Archis, Abdelmunen's widow.

Calypolis, wife to the Moor.

Ambassadors from the Moor, Ambassadors of Spain, a Legate,

1. *Abdelmelec* was frequently referred to as Muly Molocco.

2. *Muly Mahamet Seth* is once called *Xeque*, l. 86 S.D. Greg argues that *Seth* is a corruption of "Sheik," or "Sech," as Peele might have written it, and that in l. 346 "Abdelmelec bestows on his brother not a new name but a new title as publicly recognizing him as heir" (*Abridgements*, pp. 83, 108). Two objections may be opposed to emending the name to read "Sech": the only sixteenth-century spelling for Sheik recorded in the *OED* is "Siech"; and early in the play (l. 209), before Abdelmelec appoints his heir, the Moor's son refers to his uncle as *Seth*.

a messenger, a boy, captains, soldiers, pages, Moors, Janissaries, ladies, Rubin's young son.

In the Dumb Shows:

Two young Brothers of the Moor.

Two murderers.

Abdelmunen, uncle to the Moor.

Three Ghosts.

Nemesis.

Three Furies.

Death.

Fame.]

The Tragicall battell of Alcazar in Barbarie. [A 2]  
With the death of three Kings, and  
Captaine Stukley an Englishman.

[ACT I]

*Enter the Presenter [as a Portingall].*

Honor the spurre that pricks the princely minde,  
To followe rule and climbe the stately chaire,  
With great desire inflames the Portingall,  
An honorable and couragious king,  
To undertake a dangerous dreadfull warre,  
And aide with Christian armes the barbarous Moore,  
The Negro Muly Hamet that with-holds  
The kingdome from his unkle Abdelmelec,  
Whom proud Abdallas wrongd,  
10 And in his throne instals his cruell sonne,  
That now usurps upon this prince,  
This brave Barbarian Lord Muly Molocco.  
The passage to the crowne by murder made,  
Abdallas dies, and desines this tyrant king,  
Of whome we treat sprong from the Arabian moore  
Blacke in his looke, and bloudie in his deeds,  
And in his shirt staine with a cloud of gore,  
Presents himselfe with naked sword in hand,  
Accompanied as now you may behold,  
20 With devils coted in the shapes of men.

The first dumbe shew.

[A2<sup>v</sup>]

[*Sound sennett.*] *Enter Muly Mahamet and his sonne,  
[with moores attendant, and two pages to attend the  
moore]. And then the presenter speaketh.*

*Act I]* Act division not in Q.

*S.D.] Enter the Presenter. Q; Enter a Portingall Plot.*

8 *Abdelmelec]* *Abdilmelec* Q.

14 *desines]* *deisnes* Q; leaves Dyce 3 Bul.

20 + *S.D.] The first dumbe shew. / Enter Muly Mahamet and his sonne,  
and his two young brethren, the Moore sheweth them the bed, and then*

Like those that were by kind of murther mumd,  
 Sit downe and see what hainous stratagems  
 These damned wits contrive. And lo alas  
 How lyke poore lambes prepar'd for sacrifice,  
 This traitor king hailes to their longest home,  
 These tender Lords his yonger brethren both.

*<Enter to them the two young bretheren of the Moore.  
 The Moore sheweth them the bed, and then takes his  
 leave of them, and they betake them to their rest. Enter  
 the Moore and two murdrers bringing in his unkle Abdel-  
 munen, then they draw the curtains and smother the  
 yong princes in the bed. And then the Presenter saith.>*

His brethren thus in fatall bed behearst,  
 His fathers brother of too light beleefe,  
 This Negro puts to death by proud command.

*<Which done, in sight of the unkle they strangle him in  
 his chaire, and then goe forth. And then the Presenter  
 saith.>*

30 Saie not these things are faind, for true they are,  
 And understand how eager to injoy  
 His fathers crowne, this unbeleeving Moore  
 Murthering his unkle and his brethren,  
 Triumphs in his ambitious tyrannie,  
 Till Nemesis high mistres of revenge,  
 That with her scourge keepes all the world in awe,  
 With thundering drums awakes the God of warre,

---

*takes his leave of them, and they betake them to their rest. And then the  
 presenter speaketh. Q; sound sennett 1 Domb shew / Enter Muly Mahamett  
 mr Ed: Allen, his sonne Antho: Jeffes: moores attendant: mr Sam, mr Hunt  
 & w. Cartwright: ij Pages to attend the moore mr Allens boy, mr Townes  
 boy: Plot.*

26 + S.D.] *The second dumbe shew. / Enter the Moore and two mur-  
 drers bringing in his unkle Abdelmunen, then they draw the curtains and  
 smother the yong princes in the bed. Which done, in sight of the unkle  
 they strangle him in his chaire, and then goe forth. And then the Presenter  
 saith. Q; to them 2. young bretheren: Dab: & Harry: : to them Abdelmenen  
 w. Kendall: exeunt Plot.*

And cal's the furies from Avernus crags,  
 To range and rage, and vengeance to inflict  
 40 Vengeance on this accursed Moore for sinne,  
 And now behold how Abdelmelec comes,  
 Unkle to this unhappie traitor king,  
 Armd with great aide that Amurath had sent, [A<sub>3</sub>]  
 Great Amurath Emperor of the East,  
 For service done to Sultan Solimon,  
 Under whose colours he had servd in field,  
 Flying the furie of this Negroes father,  
 That wrongd his brethren to install his sonne.  
 Sit you and see this true and tragicke warre,  
 50 A modern matter full of bloud and ruth,  
 Where three bolde kings confounded in their height,  
 Fall to the earth contending for a crowne,  
 And call this warre The battell of Alcazar. *Exit.*

## [ACT I, SCENE 1]

*Sound Drummes and trumpets, and enter Abdelmelec with Calcepius Bassa and his gard, and Zareo a Moore with souldiers.*

*Abdel.* Alhaile Argerd Zareo and yee Moores,  
 Salute the frontires of your native home,  
 Cease ratling drums, and Abdelmelec here  
 Throw up they trembling hands to heavens throne  
 Pay to thy God due thankes, and thankes to him  
 That strengthens thee with mightie gracious armes,  
 60 Against the proud usurper of thy right,  
 The roiall seate and crowne of Barbarie,  
 Great Amurath great Emperour of the world,  
 The world beare witnesse how I do adore  
 The sacred name of Amurath the great.  
 Calcepius Bassa, Bassa Calcepius

*I.1]* Act and scene division not in Q.

*S.D. Abdelmelec with Calcepius]* *Abdilmelec with Calsepius* Q.

56 *Abdelmelec]* *Abdilmelec* Q.

To thee and to thy trustie band of men  
 That carefully attend us in our camp,  
 Pickt souldiers comparable to the guard  
 Of Mermidons that kept Achilles tent,  
 70 Such thanks we give to thee, and to them all,  
 As may conserne a poore distressed king  
 In honour and in princely curtesie.

*Bassa.* Curteous and honourable Abdelmelec, [A<sub>3</sub><sup>v</sup>]  
 We are not come at Amuraths command,  
 As mersenarie men to serve for pay,  
 But as sure friends by our great master sent  
 To gratifie and to remunerate,  
 Thy love, thy loialtie, and forwardnes,  
 Thy service in his fathers dangerous warre,  
 80 And to performe in view of all the world,  
 The true office of right and roialtie,  
 To see thee in thy kingly chaire inthronde,  
 To settle and to seate thee in the same,  
 To make thee Emperor of this Barbarie,  
 Are come the viseroies and sturdie Janisaries  
 Of Amurath, sonne to Sultan Solimon.

*Enter Muly Mahamet Seth, Rubin Archis, Abdil Rayes,  
 with others.*

*Abd. Ra.* Long live my Lord the soveraigne of my heart,  
 Lord Abdelmelec whom the God of kings,  
 The mightie Amurath hath happie made,  
 90 And long live Amurath for this good deed.

*Muly Mah. S.* Our Moores have seen the silver moons to  
 wave,

69 *Of Mermidons that . . . tent.] Dyce 3 Bul; Of Mermidons, that . . .  
 tent Q.*

73 *Abdelmelec,] Abdilmelec, Q.*

*S.D. Seth, Rubin Archis,] Xequé, Rubin Arches, Q; > to them Muly  
 mahamet Xequé Abdula Rais & Ruben Plot.*

87 *Abd. Ra.] Abdil Rayes Q.*

88 *Abdelmelec] Abdilmelecke Q.*

91 *Muly Mah. S.] Muly Mah. Q. wave,] Dyce 3 Bul; wane, Q.*

In banners bravely spreading over the plaine,  
 And in this semicircles have describe  
 All in a golden field a starre to rise,  
 A glorious comet that begins to blase,  
 Promising happie sorting to us all.

*Rub. Ar.* Brave man at armes whom Amurath hath sent  
 To sow the lawfull true succeeding seed  
 In Barbarie, that bowes and grones withall  
 100 Under a proud usurping tyrants mase,  
 Right thou the wrongs this rightfull king hath borne.

*Abdel.* Distressed ladies and yee dames of Fesse, [A4]  
 Sprong from the true Arabian Muly Xarif  
 The loadstarre and the honor of our line,  
 Now cleere your watrie eies, wipe teares away,  
 And cheerfully give welcome to these armes,  
 Amurath hath sent scourges by his men,  
 To whip that tyrant traitor king from hence,  
 That hath usurpt from us, and maimd you all.  
 110 Souldiers sith rightfull quarrels ayde  
 Succesfull are, and men that manage them  
 Fight not in feare as traitors and their pheres  
 That you may understand what armes we beare,  
 What lawfull armes against our brothers sonne,  
 In sight of heaven, even of mine honors worth,  
 Truly I will deliver and discourse  
 The summe of all. Descended from the line  
 Of Mahomet, our grandsire Muly Xarif  
 With store of golde and treasure leaves Arabia,  
 120 And strongly plants himselfe in Barbary,  
 And of the Moores that now with us do wend,  
 Our grandsire Muly Xarif was the first,  
 From him well wot ye Muly Mahamet Xequé,  
 Who in his life time made a perfect lawe,

97 *Rub. Ar.] Rubyn. Q.*

102 *Abdel.] Abdilm. Q.*

118 *Muly Xarif] Muli zaref Q.*

122 *Muly Xarif] Mulizaref Q.*

Confirmd with generall voice of all his peeres  
 That in his kingdome should successively  
 His sonnes succeede. Abdallas was the first  
 Eldest of foure, Abdelmunen the second,  
 And we the rest, my brother and my selfe,  
 130 Abdallas raigned his time. But see the change,  
 He labours to invest his sonne in all,  
 To disanull the lawe our father made,  
 And dis-inherite us his brethren,  
 And in his life time wrongfully proclaimes,  
 His sonne for king that now contends with us,  
 Therefore I crave to reobtaine my right  
 That Muly Mahamet the traitor holdes,  
 Traitor and bloudie tyrant both at once,  
 That murdered his yonger brethren both,  
 140 But on this damned wretch, this traitor king,  
 The Gods shal poure down showers of sharp revenge.  
 And thus a matter not to you unknowen  
 I have delivered. Yet for no distrust  
 Of loyaltie my welbeloved friend,  
 But that the occasions fresh in memorie  
 Of these incumbers, so may move your mindes,  
 As for the lawfull true succeeding prince,  
 Ye neither thinke your lives nor honors deare  
 Spent in a quarrel just and honorable.  
 150 *Bassa.* Such and no other we repute the cause,  
 That forwardly for thee we undertake,  
 Thrice puissant and renowned Abdelmelec,  
 And for thine honor, safetie and crowne,  
 Our lives and honours frankly to expose,  
 To all the dangers that our warre attends,  
 As freely and as resolutely all,

[A4<sup>v</sup>]127 *Abdallas*] *Abdullas* Q.128 *Eldest of foure, Abdelmunen*] Dyce + Bul; *Eldest of faire Abdelmenen* Q.129 *rest, my*] Dyce + Bul; Q omits comma.130 *Abdallas*] *Abdullas* Q.152 *Abdelmelec,*] *Abdilmelec,* Q.

As anie Moore whom thou commandest most.

*Muly Mah. S.* And why is Abdelmelec then so slow  
To chastise him with furie of the sword,  
160 Whose pride doth swell to sway beyond his reach?  
Follow this pride then with furie of revenge.

*Rub. Ar.* Of death, of bloud, of wreake, and deepe re-  
venge,  
Shall Rubin Archis frame her tragicke songs,  
In bloud, in death, in murther and misdeede,  
This heavens mallice did begin and end.

*Abdel.* Rubin these rights to Abdelmunens ghost,  
Have pearst by this to Plutos grave below,  
The bells of Pluto ring revenge amaine,  
The furies and the fiends conspire with thee,  
170 Warre bids me drawe my weapons for revenge  
Of my deepe wrongs, and my deare brothers death. [B]

*Muly Mah. S.* Sheath not your swords you soulders of  
Amurath,  
Sheath not your swords you Mores of Barbary  
That fight in right of your annointed king,  
But follow to the gates of death and hell,  
Pale death and hell to entertaine his soule.  
Follow I saie to burning Phlegiton,  
This traitor tyrant and his companies.

*Bassa.* Heave up your swords against these stony holds,  
180 Wherein these barbarous rebels are inclosde,  
Called for is Abdelmelec by the Gods,  
To sit upon the throne of Barbarie.

*Abd. Ra.* Bassa great thanks the honor of the Turks.  
Forward brave Lords unto this rightfull warre,  
How can this battell but succesfull be,  
Where courage meeteth with a rightfull cause?

- 158 *Muly Mah. S.] Muly Xe. Q. Abdelmelec] Abdilmelec Q.*  
160 *reach?] reach, Q.*  
166 *Abdel.] Abdilm. Q.*  
172 *Muly Mah. S.] Muly Xe. Q.*  
179 *Bassa.] Bas. Q.*  
181 *Abdelmelec] Abdilmelec Q.*

*Rub. Ar.* Go in good time my best beloved Lord,  
Succesfull in thy worke thou undertakes. *Exeunt* [*with*  
*sound of sennett*]

[ACT I, SCENE 2]

[*Sound sennett.*] Enter the Moore in his Chariot, attended with [*a page on each side, Calypolis his wife, Muly Mahamet*] his sonne. Pisano his captaine with his gard and treasure.

190 *Moore.* Pisano, take a cornet of our horse,  
As many argolets and armed pikes,  
And with our carriage march awaie before  
By Scyras, and those plots of ground  
That to Moroccus leads the lower waie.  
Our enemies keepe upon the mountaine tops,  
And have incampt themselves not farre from Fesse,  
Madame, gold is the glue, sinewes, and strength of war,  
And we must see our treasure may go safe,  
Away. *[Exit Pisano.]*  
Now boy whats the newes?

200      *The Moores sonne.* The newes my Lord is warre, warre  
and revenge.  
And if I shall declare the circumstance, [B<sup>v</sup>]  
Tis thus.  
Rubin our unkles wife that wrings her hands  
For Abdelmunens death, accompanied

187 *Rub. Ar.] Rub. Q.*

188 S.D.] *Exit.* Q; sound exeunt Plot.

1.2] Act and scene division not in Q.

S.D.] sound sennett / Enter in a Chariott Muly Mahamett & Calipolis:  
on each side a page moores attendant Pisano mr Hunt & w. Cartwright and  
young Mahamet Plot.

198 S.D.] exit Mr Sam manet the rest Plot.

200 *The Moores sonne.*] *Muly Mah.* Q. *revenge*] printed as catch-  
word and carried over to B<sup>v</sup> in O.

203 *Rubin*] *Rubyn* Q.

204 *Abdelmunens*] *Abdilmunens* O.

With many dames of Fesse in mourning weeds,  
 Neere to Argier encountred Abdelmelec,  
 That bends his force puft up with Amuraths aide,  
 Against your holds and castles of defence.

The yonger brother Muly Mahamet Seth,  
 210 Greets the great Bassa, that the king of Turkes  
 Sends to invade your right and royall realme,  
 And basely beg revenge, arch-rebels all,  
 To be inflict upon our progenie.

*Moore.* Why boy, is Amuraths Bassa such a bug,  
 That he is markt to do this doubtie deed?  
 Then Bassa locke the winds in wards of brasse,  
 Thunder from heaven damne wretched men to death  
 Beare all the offices of Saturnes sonnes,  
 Be Pluto then in hell and barre the fiends,  
 220 Take Neptunes force to thee and calme the seas,  
 And execute Joves justice on the world,  
 Convey Tamberlaine into our Affrike here,  
 To chastice and to menace lawfull kings,  
 Tamberlaine triumph not, for thou must die  
 As Philip did, Caesar, and Caesars peeres.

*The Moores sonne.* The Bassa grosly flattered to his face,  
 And Amuraths praise advancde above the sound  
 Upon the plaines, the souldiers being spread,  
 And that brave gard of sturdie Janizaries,  
 230 That Amurath to Abdelmelec gave,  
 And bad him boldly be to them as safe,  
 As if he slept within a walled towne,  
 Who take them to their weapons threatning revenge.  
 Bloudie revenge, bloudie revengefull warre.

*Moore.* Awaie, and let me heare no more of this, [B2]  
 Why boy, are we successours to the great Abdallas,

206 *Abdelmelec*] *Abdilmelec* Q.

218 *Beare*] Dyce 3 Bul; Barre Q.

226 *The Moores sonne.*] *Muly Mah.* Q.

230 *Abdelmelec*] *Abdilmelec* Q.

236 *Abdallas,*] Bul; *Abdilmelec*, Q; *Abdelmunen*, Dyce 3.

Descended from the Arabian Muly Xarif,  
And shall we be afraide of Bassas and of bugs,  
Rawe head and bloudie bone?

240 Boy, seest here this semitarie by my side,  
Sith they begin to bath in bloud,  
Bloud be the theame whereon our time shall tread,  
Such slaughter with my weapon shall I make,  
As through the streame and bloudie chanel deepe,  
Our Moores shall saile in ships and pinnaces,  
From Tanger shore unto the gates of Fesse.

*The Moores sonne.* And of those slaughtered bodies shall  
thy sonne,

A hugie towre erect like Nemrods frame,  
To threaten those unjust and parcial Gods,  
250 That to Abdallas lawfull seed denie,  
A long, a happie, and triumphant raigne.

Sound an alarum within, and enter a messenger.

*Mes.* Flie king of Fesse, king of Moroccus flie,  
Flie with thy friends Emperour of Barbary,  
O flie the sword and furie of the foe,  
That rageth as the ramping lyonesse,  
In rescue of her yonglings from the beare,  
Thy townes and holds my numbers basely yeeld,  
Thy land to Abdelmelecs rule resignes,  
Thy carriage and thy treasure taken is  
260 By Amuraths souldiers, that have sworne thy death,  
Flie Amuraths power, and Abdelmelecs threats,  
Or thou and thine looke heere to breath your last.

*Moore.* Villain, what dreadfull sound of death & flight  
Is this, wherewith thou doest afflict our eares?

237 Xarif] Zarif Q.

241 bloud,] blond, Q.

247 *The Moores sonne.*] *Muly Mah.* Q.

248 hugie] Dyce 3 Bul; huge Q. S.D.] Alarū to them mr. Sam a  
gaine Plot.

258 *Abdelmelecs*] *Abdilmelecs.*

261 *Abdelmelecs*] *Abdilmelecs* Q.

263 *Moore.*] *More.* Q. flight] flight Q.

But if there be no safetie to abide  
The favor, fortune, and successe of warre.

[B<sub>2</sub><sup>v</sup>]

Away in hast, roule on my chariot wheelles  
Restlesse, till I be safely set in shade  
Of some unhanted place, some blasted grove  
270 Of deadly hue, or dismall cypres tree,  
Farre from the light or comfort of the Sunne,  
There to curse heaven, and he that heaves me hence,  
To seeke as Envie at Cecropes gate,  
And pine the thought and terrour of mishaps,  
Awaie. *Exeunt.*

## [ACT II]

Alarum.

And then the presenter speaketh.

Now warre begins his rage and ruthlesse raine,  
And Nemesis with bloudie whip in hand,  
Thunders for vengeance on this Negro moore.

[*The second dumbe shew.*  
*Enter above Nemesis.*]

Nor may the silence of the speechlesse night,  
280 Divine Architect of murthers and misdeeds,  
Of tragedies, and tragicke tyrannies,  
Hide or containe this barbarous crueltie  
Of this usurper to his progenie.

*Three ghosts crying Vindicta.*275 S.D. *Exeunt.*] Plot; *Exit.* Q.*Act II] Actus secunda. Scaena prima.* Q.

278 + S.D.] 2 domb shew Enter above Nemesis Plot.

280 *Divine Architect*] Dyce 2; Divine Architects Q; Dire architect Dyce

3 Bul.

283 + S.D.] to them 3 ghosts Plot.

Hearke Lords, as in a hollow place a farre,  
 The dreadfull shrikes and clamors that resound,  
 And sound revenge upon this traitors soule,  
 Traitor to kinne and kinde, to Gods and men.  
 Now Nemesis upon her doubling drum,  
 Movde with this gastly mone, this sad complaint,  
 290 Larumes aloud into Alectos eares,  
 And with her thundering wakes whereas they lie,  
 In cave as darke as hell, and beds of steele,  
 The furies just impes of dire revenge,  
 Revenge cries Abdelmunens grieved ghost,  
 And rouseth with the terror of this noise  
 These nymphs of Erybus. Wreake and revenge  
 Ring out the soules of his unhappie brethren,  
 And now start up these torments of the world,  
 Wakt with the thunder of Ramnusias drum,  
 300 And feareful ecchos of these grieved ghosts,

[B<sub>3</sub>]

[*Lying behind the Curtaines three Furies, one with a whipp, another with a bloody torch, and the third with a Chopping knife.*]

Alecto with her brand and bloudie torch,  
 Megaera with her whip and snakie haire,  
 Tysiphone with her fatall murthering yron,  
 These three conspire, these three complaine & mone,  
 Thus Muly Mahamet is a counsell held,  
 To wreake the wrongs and murthers thou hast done.

[*Exeunt shew.*]

By this imagine was this barbarous Moore  
 Chased from his dignitie and his diademe,

294 *Abdelmunens*] Dyce + Bul; *Abdilmelecs* Q.

299 *Ramnusias*] Dyce + Bul; *Ramusians* Q.

300 + S.D.] to them lying behind the Curtaines 3. Furies: Parsons: George & Ro: Tailor one with a whipp: a nother wth a bloody torch: & the 3d wth a Chopping knife Plot.

306 + S.D.] *exeunt* Plot.

And lives forlorne among the mountaine shrubs,  
 310 And makes his food the flesh of savage beasts.  
 Amuraths souldiers have by this instald  
 Good Abdelmelec in his roiall seate,  
 The dames of Fesse and ladies of the land,  
 In honor of the sonne of Solimon,  
 Erect a statue made of beaten gold,  
 And sing to Amurath songs of lasting praise.  
 Muly Mahamets furie over-rulde,  
 His crueltie controld, and pride rebukt,  
 Now at last when sober thoughts renude,  
 320 Care of his kingdome and desired crowne,  
 The aide that once was offered and refusde  
 By messengers, he furiously implores,  
 Sebastians aide brave king of Portugall,  
 He forward in all armes and chivalrie  
 Harkens to his Embassadors, and grants  
 What they in letters and by words intreate.  
 Now listen lordings now begins the game,  
 Sebastians tragedie in this tragicke warre. [Exit.] [B<sub>3</sub><sup>v</sup>]

## [ACT II, SCENE 1]

Alarum within, and then enter Abdelmelec, Muly Mahamet Seth, [Zareo,] Calcepius Bassa, with Moores and Janizaries, and the Ladies [and Rubins young sonne].

330 *Abdel.* Now hath the Sun displaid his golden beams,  
 And duskie clouds dispearst, the welkin cleeres,  
 Wherein the twentie coloured rainbow shewes,

311 *Amuraths*] *Amureths* Q.

314 *Solimon*] *Soliman* Q.

322 *implores*,] Dyce + Bul; imployes, Q.

328 S.D.] *Exit.* Not in Q.

*II.1*] Act and scene division not in Q.

S.D.] Enter Abdelmelec, mahamet Xequé, Zareo Calcepius Bassa [Adb]  
 Abdula Rais: & Ruben: Attendants: mr Hunt & George & young sonne  
 Dab: Plot.

329 *Abdel.*] *Abdil.* Q.

After this fight happie and fortunate,  
 Wherein our Moores have lost the day,  
 And victorie adord with fortunes plumes,  
 Alights on Abdelmelecs glorious creast,  
 Here finde we time to breath, and now begin  
 To paie thy due and duties thou doest owe,  
 To heaven and earth, to Gods and Amurath.

Sound Trumpets.

And now drawe neere, and heaven and earth give eare  
 340 Give eare and record heaven and earth with me,  
 Ye Lords of Barbarie hearken and attend,  
 Hearke to the wordes I speake, and vowe I make,  
 To plant the true succession of the crowne,  
 Loe Lords, in our seate roiall to succeede,  
 Our onely brother here we doo install,  
 And by the name of Muly Mahamet Seth,  
 Intitle him true heire unto the crowne,  
 Ye Gods of heaven gratulate this deed,  
 That men on earth may therwith stand content.  
 350 Lo thus my due and duetie is done, I paie  
 To heaven and earth, to Gods and Amurath.

Sound Trumpets.

*Muly Mah. S.* Renowmed Bassa, to remunerate  
 Thy worthines and magnanimitie,  
 Behold the noblest ladies of the land,  
 Bring present tokens of their gratitude.

*Rub. Ar.* Rubin that breaths but for revenge, [B4]  
 Bassa by this commends her selfe to thee  
 Resignes the token of her thankfulnes:  
 To Amurath the God of earthly kings,  
 360 Doth Rubin give and sacrifice her sonne,  
 Not with sweet smoake of fire, or sweet perfume,  
 But with his fathers sword, his mothers thankes

352 *Muly Mah. S.] Muly Mah. Q.*

358 *Resignes]* Bul; Resigne Q; Receive Dyce 3. *thankfulnes:]* colon  
 not in Q.

Doth Rubin give her sonne to Amurath.

*Abd. Ra.* As Rubin gives her sonne, so we our selves  
To Amurath give, and fall before his face.

Bassa, weare thou the golde of Barbarie,  
And glister like the pallace of the Sunne,  
In honour of the deed that thou hast dun.

*Bassa.* Well worthie of the aide of Amurath,  
370 Is Abdelmelec and these noble dames,  
Rubin thy sonne I shall ere long bestow,  
Where thou doest him bequeath in honours fee,  
On Amurath, mightie Emperor of the East,  
That shall receive the impe of roiall race,  
With cheereful lookes and gleames of princely grace,  
This chosen gard of Amuraths Jenizaries,  
I leave to honor and attend on thee,  
King of Marocco conqueror of thy foes,  
True king of Fesse, Emperor of Barbarie,  
380 Muly Molocco live and keepe thy seate,  
In spite of fortunes spite or enemies threats,  
Ride Bassa now, bold Bassa homeward ride,  
As glorious as great Pompey in his pride.

*Exeunt omnes.*

[ACT II, SCENE 2]

*Enter Diego Lopis governor of Lisborne, the Irish  
Bishop, Stukley, Jonas, and Hercules.*

*Die.* Welcome to Lisborne valiant Catholikes,  
Welcome brave English-men to Portugall,  
Most reverent primate of the Irish Church.

364 *Abd. Ra.*] Queene. Q.

369 *Bassa.*] *Bas.* Q.

370 *Abdelmelec*] *Abdilmelec* Q.

383 + S.D. *Exeunt Omnes.*] *Exit omnes.* Q; exeunt Plot.

*II.2*] Act and scene division not in Q.

384 *Die.*] *Dieg.* Q.

[B4<sup>v</sup>]

And noble Stukley famous by thy name,  
 Welcome, thrice welcome to Sebastians towne,  
 And welcome English captaines to you all,  
 390 It joyeth us to see his holynes fleet,  
 Cast ancor happily upon our coast.

*Bish.* These welcomes worthie governor of Lisborne,  
 Argue an honorable mind in thee,  
 But treat of our misfortune therewithall,  
 To Ireland by pope Gregories command,  
 Were we all bound, and therefore thus imbarkt,  
 To land our forces there at unawares,  
 Conquering the land for his holynesse,  
 And so restore it to the Romane faith,  
 400 This was the cause of our expedition,  
 And Ireland long ere this had been subdude,  
 Had not foule weather brought us to this bay

*Die.* Under correction, are ye not all Englishmen,  
 And longs not Ireland to that kingdome Lords?  
 Then may I speake my conscience in the cause,  
 Sance scandall to the holy sea of Rome,  
 Unhonorable is this expedition,  
 And misbeseeming yoo to meddle in.

*Stuk.* Lord governour of Lisborne understand,  
 410 As we are Englishmen, so are we men,  
 And I am Stukley so resolvde in all,  
 To follow rule, honor and Emperie,  
 Not to be bent so strictly to the place,  
 Wherein at first I blew the fire of life,  
 But that I may at libertie make choise,  
 Of all the continents that bounds the world,  
 For why? I make it not so great desert  
 To be begot or borne in anie place,  
 Sith thats a thing of pleasure and of ease,  
 420 That might have bin performd else-where as well.

*Die.* Follow what your good pleasure will,

[C]

387 *Stukley*] *Stukeley* Q.

392 *Bish.*] *Bishop.* Q.

403 *Die.*] *Diego.* Q.

Good Captaine Stukley be it farre from me  
To take exceptions beyond my priviledge.

*Bish.* Yet captaine give me leave to speake,  
We must affect our countrie as our parents,  
And if at anie time we alianate  
Our love or industrie from doing it honor,  
It must respect effects and touch the soule,  
Matter of conscience and religion,  
430 And not desire of rule or benefite.

*Stuk.* Well said Bishop, spoken like your selfe,  
The reverent lordly bishop of saint Asses.

*Herc.* The bishop talkes according to his coate,  
And takes not measure of it by his minde,  
You see he hath it made thus large and wide,  
Because he may convert it as he list,  
To anie forme may fit the fashion best.

*Bish.* Captaine you do me wrong to descant thus,  
Upon my coate or double conscience,  
440 And cannot answere it in another place.

*Die.* Tis but in jest, Lord bishop put it up,  
And all as friends daine to be entertaind,  
As my abilitie here can make provision,  
Shortly shall I conduct you to the king,  
Whose welcomes evermore to strangers are,  
Princely and honorable as his state becomes.

*Stuk.* Thankes worthie governour, come bishop come  
Will you shew fruits of quarrell and of wrath,  
Come let us in with my Lord of Lisborne here.

450 And put all conscience into one carouse,  
Letting it out againe, as we may live.  
There shall no action passe my hand or sword,  
That cannot make a step to gaine a crowne,  
No word shall passe the office of my tong,  
That sounds not of affection to a crowne,  
No thought have being in my lordly brest,  
That workes not everie waie to win a crowne,  
Deeds, wordes and thoughts shall all be as a kings,

[C<sup>v</sup>]

437 *best.*] best, Q.

My chieftest companie shall be with kings,  
 460 And my deserts shall counterpoise a kings,  
 Why should not I then looke to be a king?  
 I am the marques now of Ireland made,  
 And will be shortly king of Ireland,  
 King of a mole-hill had I rather be,  
 Than the richest subject of a monarchie,  
 Huffle it brave minde, and never cease t'aspire,  
 Before thou raigne sole king of thy desire. *Exeunt.*

## [ACT II, SCENE 3]

*Enter the Moore, with Calypolis his wife, Muly Mahamet  
 his sonne, and two others.*

Moore. Where art thou boy, where is Calypolis?  
 O deadly wound that passeth by mine eie,  
 470 The fatall prison of my swelling heart!  
 O fortune constant in unconstancie!  
 Fight earth-quakes in the intrailles of the earth,  
 And Easterne whirl-windes in the hellish shades,  
 Some foule contagion of the infected heaven,  
 Blast all the trees, and in their cursed tops,  
 The dismall night raven and tragike owle  
 Breed, and become fore-tellers of my fall,  
 The fatall ruine of my name and me,  
 Adders and serpents hisse at my disgrace,  
 480 And wound the earth with anguish of their stings,  
 Now Abdelmelec, now triumph in Fesse,  
 Fortune hath made thee king of Barbary.  
*Calyp.* Alas my Lord, what boots these huge exclaims

467 *desire.*] British Museum copy has period; desire other copies; Greg prints period.

II.3] Act and scene division not in Q.

S.D. *Calypolis*] *Calipolis* Q; Enter Mully Mahamet, Calipolis: young mahamet & 2 moores Plot.

469 *wound*] *wonnd* Q.

483 *Calyp.*] *Caly.* Q.

To advantage us in this distrest estate,  
 O pittie our perplext estate my Lord,  
 And turne all curses to submissee complaints,  
 And those complaints to actions of reliefe,  
 I faint my Lord, and naught may cursing plaintes  
 Refresh the fading substance of my life. [C<sub>2</sub>]

490 *Moore.* Faint all the world, consume and be accurst,  
 Since my state faints and is accurst.

*Calyp.* Yet patience Lord to conquere sorrowes so.

*Moore.* What patience is for him that lacks his crown?  
 There is no patience where the losse is such,  
 The shame of my disgrace hath put on wings,  
 And swiftly flies about this earthly ball,  
 Car'st thou to live then fond Calypolis,  
 When he that should give essence to thy soule,  
 He on whose glorie all thy joy should stay,  
 500 Is soulelesse, glorylesse, and desperate,  
 Crying for battell, famine, sword and fire,  
 Rather then calling for reliefe or life.  
 But be content, thy hunger shall have end,  
 Famine shall pine to death and thou shalt live,  
 I will go hunt these cursed solitaires,  
 And make the sword and target here my hound,  
 To pull downe lyons and untamed beasts. *Exit.*

*The Moores sonne.* Tush mother, cherish your unheartie  
 soule,

And feede with hope of happines and ease,  
 510 For if by valor or by policie,  
 My kingly father can be fortunate,  
 We shall be Joves commanders once againe,  
 And flourish in a three-fold happines.

*Attendant.* His maiestie hath sent Sebastian  
 The good and harmelesse king of Portugall,  
 A promise to resigne the roialtie

493 *Moore.] More. Q.*

507 *S.D.] ex muly mahamet manet the rest Plot.*

508 *The Moores sonne.] Mah. Q.*

514 *Attendant.] Zareo Q.*

And kingdome of Marocco to his hands,  
 But when this haughtie offer takes effect,  
 And workes affiance in Sebastian,  
 520 My gracious Lord warnd wisely to advise,  
 I doubt not but will watch occasion,  
 And take her fore-top by the slenderest haire,  
 To rid us of this miserable life.

*The Moores sonne.* Good madame cheere your [C2<sup>v</sup>]  
 selfe, my Fathers wife,

He can submit himselfe and live below,  
 Make shew of friendship, promise, vow and sweare,  
 Till by the vertue of his faire pretence,  
 Sebastian trusting his integritie,  
 He makes himselfe possessor of such fruits,  
 530 As grow upon such great advantages.

*Calyp.* But more dishonor hangs on such misdeeds,  
 Than all the profit their returne can beare,  
 Such secret judgements hath the heavens imposde  
 Upon the drouping state of Barbarie,  
 As publike merites in such lewd attempts,  
 Hath drawne with violence upon our heads.

*Enter [the Moore] Muly Mahamet with [raw] flesh  
 upon his sworde.*

*Moore.* Hold thee Calypolis feed and faint no more,  
 This flesh I forced from a lyonesse,  
 Meate of a princesse, for a princesse meate,  
 540 Learne by her noble stomacke to esteeme  
 Penurie plentie, in extreamest dearth,  
 Who when she sawe her foragement bereft,  
 Pinde not in melancholy or childish feare,  
 But as brave mindes are strongest in extreames,  
 So she redoubling her former force

524 *The Moores sonne.] Mah. Q.*

531 *Calyp.] Calip. Q.*

536 + S.D. *with [raw] flesh*] Plot; 'with Lyons flesh' Q.

537 *Moore.] Mu. Ma. Q.*

543 *childish]* childlish Q.

Rangde thorough the woodes, and rent the breeding vaultes  
 Of proudest savages to save her selfe,  
 Feede then and faint not faire Calypolis,  
 For rather than fierce famine shall prevaile,  
 550 To gnaw thy intrailles with her thornie teeth,  
 The conquering lyonesse shall attend on thee,  
 And laie huge heapes of slaughtered carcasses  
 As bulwarkes in her waie to keepe her back. [C3]  
 I will provide thee of a princely ospraie,  
 That as she flyeth over fish in pooles,  
 The fish shall turne their glistering bellies up,  
 And thou shalt take thy liberall choice of all,  
 Joves stately bird with wide commanding wings  
 Shall hover still about thy princely head,  
 560 And beate downe fowle by sholes into thy lap,  
 Feede then and faint not faire Calypolis.  
*Calyp.* Thankes good my Lord, and though my stomacke  
 be  
 Too queasie to digest such bloudie meate,  
 Yet strength I it with vertue of my minde,  
 I doubt no whit but I shall live my Lord.  
*Moore.* Into the shades then faire Calypolis,  
 And make thy sonne and Negros here good cheere,  
 Feede and be fat that we may meete the foe  
 With strength and terror to revenge our wrong. [*Exeunt.*]

## [ACT II, SCENE 4]

*Enter Sebastian king of Portugall, [a Page,] the Duke of  
 Avero, the duke of Barceles, Lewes de Sylva, [County  
 Vinioso,] Christopher de Tavera.*

569 S.D. *Exeunt.*] not in Q.

II.4] Act and scene division not in Q.

S.D. *Lewes de Sylva*] *Leues de Silva* Q. But cf. l. 631, and III. 1 s.d. *Chris-*  
*topher*] *Christophero* Q; Enter [2 Pages:] Sebastian: a Page Jeames:  
 Duke of Barcelis: mr Charles Duke of Avero: mr Jubie luis de Silva:  
 mr Iones County Vinioso George: Christoporo de Tavora: Dick Jubie Plot.

570 *Sebast.* Call forth those Moores, those men of Barbarie,  
That came with letters from the king of Fesse.

*Exit one [and brings in the Embassadors and two Pages].*

Ye warlike lords and men of chivalrie,  
Honorable Embassadors of this high regent,  
Harke to Sebastian king of Portugall:  
These letters sent from your distressed Lord,  
Torne from his throne by Abdelmelecs hand,  
Strengthened and raisde by furious Amurath,  
Imports a kingly favour at our hands,  
For aide to reobtaine his roiall seate,  
580 And place his fortunes in their former height.  
For quitall of which honorable armes,  
By these his letters he doth firmly vow,  
Wholy to yeeld and to surrender up  
The kingdome of Maroccus to our hands,  
And to become to us contributarie,  
And to content himselfe with the realme of Fesse,  
These lines my Lords writ in extremitie,  
Containe therefore but during fortunes date,  
How shall Sebastian then beleieve the same?

[C<sub>3</sub><sup>v</sup>]

590 *Embas.* Vicerioies, and most christian king of Portugall,  
To satisfie they doubtfull minde heerein,  
Command forthwith a blasing brand of fire  
Be brought in presence of thy maiestie,  
Then shalt thou see by our religious vowes  
And ceremonies most inviolate  
How firme our soveraignes protestations are,

*[A brand is brought in.]*

Beholde my Lord, this binds our faith to thee,  
In token that great Muly Mahamets hand  
Hath writ no more than his stout heart allowes,

571 + S.D.] *Exit one.* Q; to them: 2: moores: embassadors mr Sam mr  
Hunt & 2 Pages Plot.

576 *Abdelmelecs*] *Abdilmelecs* Q.

596 + S.D.] Dyce 3 Bul add S.D.

600 And will performe to thee and to thine heires,  
 We offer heere our hands into this flame,  
 And as this flame doth fasten on this flesh,  
 So from our soules we wish it may consume  
 The heart of our great Lord and soveraigne  
 Muly Mahamet king of Barbarie,  
 If his intent agree not with his wordes.

*Sebast.* These ceremonies and protestations  
 Sufficeth us ye Lordes of Barbarie,  
 Therefore returne this answere to your king,  
 610 Assure him by the honour of my crowne,  
 And by Sebastians true unfained faith  
 He shall have aide and succour to recover,  
 And seate him in his former emperie,  
 Let him relie upon our princely word,  
 Tell him by August we will come to him,  
 With such a power of brave impatient mindes,  
 As Abdelmelec and great Amurath  
 Shall tremble at the strength of Portugall.

[C4]

*Embas.* Thanks to the renowmed king of Portugal  
 620 On whose stout promises our state depend.

*Sebast.* Barbarians go glad your distressed king,  
 And saie Sebastian lives to right his wrong, [Exeunt  
 Embassadors.]

Duke of Averro call in those English-men,  
 Don Stukley, and those Captaines of the fleet  
 That lately landed in our bay of Lisborne.  
 Now breath Sebastian, and in breathing blow  
 Some gentle gale of thy new formed joyes,  
 Duke of Averro, it shall be your charge,  
 To take the muster of the Portugals,  
 630 And bravest blouds of all our countrie,  
 Lewes de Sylva you shall be dispatcht  
 With letters unto Philip king of Spaine,  
 Tell him we crave his aide in this behalfe,  
 I know our brother Philip nill denie

619 *Embas.] Emb. Q.*

622 *S.D.] Exit. Q; exit moores: manet the rest Plot.*

His furtherance in this holy christian warre,  
 Duke of Barceles as thy ancestors  
 Have alwaies loiall bin to Portugall,  
 So now in honor of thy toward youth,  
 Thy charge shall be to Anwerpe speedily,  
 640 To hire us mercenarie men at armes,  
 Promise them princely paie, and be thou sure  
 Thy word is ours, Sebastian speakes the word.

*Chri.* I beseech your maiestie imploy me in this war.

*Sebast.* Christopher de Tavera, next unto my selfe  
 My good Efestian, and my bedfellow,  
 Thy cares and mine shall be alike in this,

Enter Stukley and the rest.

And thou and I will live and die together.  
 And now brave English-men to you,  
 Whom angrie stormes have put into our bay,  
 650 Hold not your fortune ere the worse in this,  
 We holde our strangers honors in our hand,  
 And for distressed franke and free reliefe,  
 Tell me then Stukley, for thats thy name I trow,  
 Wilt thou in honor of thy countries fame,  
 Hazard thy person in this brave exploit,  
 And follow us to fruitfull Barbarie,  
 With these sixe thousand souldiers thou hast brought  
 And choicely pickt through wanton Italy,  
 Thou art a man of gallant personage,  
 660 Proud in thy lookes, and famous everie waie,  
 Frankly tell me, wilt thou go with me?

[C4<sup>v</sup>]

*Stuk.* Courageous king, the wonder of my thoughts  
 And yet my Lord, with pardon understand,  
 My selfe and these, whom weather hath inforst,  
 To lie at roade upon thy gracious coast,  
 Did bend our course and made amaine for Ireland.

*Sebast.* For Ireland Stukley, thou mistakst me wonderous  
 much,

644 *Sebast.] Seb. Q.*                    *unto] unro Q.*

*S.D.] to them Stukeley Jonas, Hercules, & Irish Bishopp Plot.*

With seven shippes, two pinnaces, and sixe thousand men,  
 I tell thee Stukley, they are farre too weake,  
 670 To violate the Queene of Irelands right,  
 For Irelands Queene commandeth Englands force,  
 Were everie ship ten thousand on the seas,  
 Mand with the strength of all the Easterne kings,  
 Conveying all the monarchs of the world,  
 To invade the Iland where her highnes raignes,  
 Twere all in vaine, for heavens and destinies  
 Attend and wait upon her Majestie,  
 Sacred, imperiall, and holy is her seate,  
 Shining with wisdom, love and mightines.  
 680 Nature that everie thing imperfect made,  
 Fortune that never yet was constant found,  
 Time that defaceth everie golden shew, [D]  
 Dare not decay, remove, or be impure,  
 Both nature, time and fortune, all agree,  
 To blesse and serve her roiall majestie,  
 The wallowing Ocean hems her round about,  
 Whose raging flouds do swallow up her foes,  
 And on the rockes their ships in peeces split,  
 And even in Spaine where all the traitors dance,  
 690 And plaie themselves upon a sunny daie,  
 Securely gard the west part of her Isle,  
 The South the narrow Britaine sea begirts,  
 Where Neptune sits in triumph, to direct  
 Their course to hell that aime at her disgrace,  
 The Germaine seas amongst the East do run,  
 Where Venus banquets all her water Nymphs,  
 That with her beautie glansing on the waves,  
 Disdaines the checke of faire Proserpina,  
 Advise thee then proud Stukley ere thou passe,  
 700 To wrong the wonder of the highest God,  
 Sith danger, death and hell doth follow thee,  
 Thee and them all that seeke to danger her.  
 If honor be the marke wherat thou aimst,

693 *Neptune]* *Veptune* Q.

696 *Venus]* *Nenus* Q.

Then followe me in holy christian warres,  
And leave to seeke thy Countries overthrow.

*Stuk.* Rather my Lord, let me admire these wordes,  
Than answeere to your firme objections,  
His holynes Pope Gregorie the seventh,  
Hath made us foure the leaders of the rest,  
710 Amongst the rest my Lord, I am but one,  
If they agree, Stukley will be the first  
To die with honor for Sebastian.

*Sebast.* Tell me Lord Bishop, Captaines tell me all,  
Are you content to leave this enterprise,  
Against your countrie and your countrie men,  
To aide Mahamet king of Barbarie?

*Bish.* To aide Mahamet king of Barbarie, [D<sup>v</sup>]  
Tis gainst our vowes great king of Portugall.

*Sebast.* Then Captaines what saie you?

720 *Jonas.* I saie my Lord as the Bishop said,  
We may not turne from conquering Ireland.

*Herc.* Our countrie and our country-men will condemne  
Us worthie of death, if we neglect our vowes.

*Sebast.* Consider Lords you are now in Portugall,  
And I may now dispose of you and yours.  
Hath not the winde and weather given you up,  
And made you captives to our roiall will?

*Jonas.* It hath my Lord, and willingly wee yeeld  
To be commanded by your majestie,  
730 But if you make us voluntarie men,  
Our course is then direct for Ireland.

*Sebast.* That course will we direct for Barbary,  
Follow me Lords, Sebastian leades the way,  
To plant the christian fath in Affrica.

*Stuk.* Saint George for England, and Irelande nowe adue,  
For here Tom Stukley shapes his course anue.

*Exeunt.*

720 *Jonas.*] Q prints swash italic *I* and omits period.

736 + S.D. *Exeunt.*] *Exit.* Q; exeunt Plot.

## [ACT III]

*Enter the presenter and speaks.*

Lo thus into a lake of bloud and gore,  
 The brave couragious king of Portugall  
 Hath drencht himselfe, and now prepares amaine  
 740 With sailes and oares to crosse the swelling seas,  
 With men and ships, courage and canon shot,  
 To plant this cursed Moore in fatall houre,  
 And in this Catholike case the king of Spaine  
 Is cald upon by sweet Sebastian.  
 Who surfetting in prime time of his youth,  
 Upon ambitious poison dies thereon.

[D<sub>2</sub>]

*[The Third dumbe shew.*

*Enter Nemesis above. Enter to her three Furies bringing  
 in the scales. To them enter three divells. Then enter to  
 them three ghosts. The Furies first fech in Sebastian and  
 carrie him out againe, which done they fech in Stukley  
 and carrie him out, then bring in the Moore and carrie  
 him out. Exeunt shew.]*

By this time is the Moore to Tangar come,  
 A citie longing to the Portugall,  
 And now doth Spaine promise with holy face,  
 750 As favouring the honor of the cause,  
 His aide of armes, and levies men apace,  
 But nothing lesse than king Sebastians good  
 He meanes, yet at Sucor de Tupea,  
 He met some saie in person with the Portugall,  
 And treateth of a marriage with the king,  
 But ware ambitious wiles and poisoned eies,

*Act III] Act division not in Q.*

746 + S.D.] not in Q; 3. domb shew Enter Nemesis above: Tho: Drom  
 to her 3. Furies bringing in the Scales: George Somersett Tom Parsons and  
 Robin Tailor: to them 3 divells mr Sam: H Jeffes & Antho: Jeffes to them  
 3 ghosts: w Kendall Dab & Harry the Furies [Fech] First Fech in Sebastian  
 & Carrie him out again, which done they Fech in Stukeley & Carrie him out,  
 then bring in the Moore & Carrie him out: exeunt Plot.

There was nor aide of armes nor marriage,  
 For on his waie without those Spaniardes king Sebastian went.  
 [Exit.]

## [ACT III, SCENE I]

*Enter the king of Portugall and his Lordes, Lewes de Sylva, and the Embassadors of Spaine.*

*Sebast.* Honorable Lords, Embassadors of Spaine,  
 760 The many favours by our meetings done  
 From our beloved and renownmed brother,  
 Philip the Catholike king of Spaine  
 Say therefore good my Lord Embassador,  
 Saie how your mightie master minded is,  
 To propagate the fame of Portugall.

*Embas.* To propagate the fame of Portugall,  
 And plant religious truth in Affrica,  
 Philip the great and puissant king of Spaine,  
 For love and honor of Sebastians name,  
 770 Promiseth aide of armes, and sweares by us  
 To doe your majestie all the good he can,  
 With men, munition, and supply of warre,  
 Of Spaniards proud in king Sebastians aide,  
 To spend their blouds in honor of their Christ. [D<sub>2</sub><sup>v</sup>]

*Legate.* And farther to manifest unto your majesty  
 How much the Catholike king of Spaine affects  
 This warre with Moores and men of little faith,  
 The honour of your everlasting praise,  
 Behold to honor and inlarge thy name,  
 780 He maketh offer of his daughter Isabel,  
 To linke in marriage with the brave Sebastian,  
 And to inrich Sebastians noble wife,  
 His majestie with promise to resigne  
 The titles of the Islands of Moloccus,

758 S.D. *Exit.*] not in Q.

III.1] Act and scene division not in Q.

759 *Sebast.*] *Seb.* Q.

That by his roialtie in Judah he commands.  
 These favors with unfained love and zeale,  
 Voweth king Philip to king Sebastian.

*Sebast.* And God so deale with king Sebastians soul  
 As justly he intends to fight for Christ,  
 790 Nobles of Spaine, sith our renowned brother,  
 Philip the king of honor and of zeale,  
 By you the chosen Orators of Spaine,  
 The offer of the holdes he makes  
 Are not so precious in our account,  
 As is the peerlesse dame whom we adore,  
 His daughter, in whose loyaltie consists  
 The life and honor of Sebastian.  
 As for the aide of armes he promiseth,  
 We will expect, and thankfully receive  
 800 At Cardis, as we saile amongst the coast.  
 Sebastian clap thy hands for joy,  
 Honourd by this meeting and this match,  
 Go Lords and follow to the famous warre  
 Your king, and be his fortune such in all,  
 As he intends to manage armes in right.

*Exeunt.*

*Manent Stukley and another.*

*Stuk.* Sit fast Sebastian, and in this worke  
 God and good men labor for Portugall,  
 For Spaine disguising with a double face,  
 Flatters thy youth and forwardnes good king,  
 810 Philip whome some call the catholike king,  
 I feare me much thy faith will not be firme,  
 But disagree with thy profession.

[D<sub>3</sub>]

*The other.* What then shall of these men of warre become,  
 Those numbers that do multiply in Spaine?

*Stuk.* Spaine hath a vent for them and their supplies,  
 The Spaniard readie to imbarke himselfe,

785 *commands.*] *commands Q.*

805 + S.D. *Manent*] *Manet Q*; manet Stukeley & Duke of Avero Plot.

Heere gathers to a head, but all to sure,  
Flanders I feare shall feele the force of Spaine,  
Let Portugall fare as he may or can,

820 Spaine meanes to spend no powder on the moores.

*The other.* If kings doo dally so with holy oaths,  
The heavens will right the wrongs that they sustaine,  
Philip if these forgeries be in thee,  
Assure thee king, twill light on thee at last,  
And when proud Spaine hopes soundly to prevaile,  
The time may come that thou and thine shall faile.

*Exeunt.*

[ACT III, SCENE 2]

*Enter Abdelmelec, Muly Mahamet Seth, Zareo and their  
Traine.*

*Abdel.* The Portugall lead with deceiving hope,  
Hath raisde his power, and receiv'd our foe  
With honorable welcomes and regard,  
830 And left his countrie bounds, and hether bends,  
In hope to helpe Mahamet to a crowne,  
And chase us hence, and plant this Negro moore  
That clads himselfe in coate of hammerd steele,  
To heave us from the honor we possesse,  
But for I have my selfe a souldier bin,  
I have in pittie to the Portugall  
Sent secret messengers to counsell him.

[D<sub>3</sub><sup>v</sup>]

As for the aide of Spaine whereof they hop'd,  
We have dispatcht our letters to their prince,  
840 To crave that in a quarrell so unjust,  
He that intituled is the Catholike king,  
Would not assist a carelesse christian prince,  
And as by letters we are let to know,  
Our offer of the seven holdes we made,

826 + S.D. *Exeunt.*] Plot; *Exit.* Q.

III.2] Act and scene division not in Q.

827 *Abdel.*] *Abdelm.* Q.

He thankfully receives, with all conditions,  
 Differing in minde farre from all his wordes  
 And promises to king Sebastian,  
 As we would wish, or you my Lords desire.

*Zareo.* What resteth then but Abdelmelec may  
 850 Beate backe this proud invading Portugall,  
 And chastice this ambitious Negro moore  
 With thousand deaths for thousand damned deeds.

*Abdel.* Forward Zareo and ye manly moores,  
 Sebastian see in time unto thy selfe,  
 If thou and thine misled doe thrive amisse,  
 Guiltlesse is Abdelmelec of thy bloud.

*Exeunt.*

[ACT III, SCENE 3]

*Enter Don de Menysis governor of Tangar, with his  
 companie speaking to the Captaines.*

*Gover.* Captaines, we have received Letters from the king,  
 That with such signes and arguments of love,  
 We entertaine the king of Barbarie,  
 860 That marcheth toward Tangar with his men,  
 The poore remainders of those that fled from Fesse,  
 When Abdelmelec got the glorious day,  
 And stald himselfe in his emperiall throne.

*Capt.* Lord governor, we are in readines  
 To welcome and receive this haplesse king,

845 *receives*] Dyce + Bul; *receines* Q.

853 *Abdel.*] *Abdilm.* Q.

856 *Abdelmelec*] *Abdilmelec* Q.

*III.3*] Act and scene division not in Q.

*S.D. Captaines.*] *Captaine.* Q; Enter Governor of Tangar & a Captains  
 Plot.

857 *Captaines,*] Dyce 3 Bul; *Captaine,* Q.

862 *Abdelmelec*] *Abdilmelec* Q.

864 *Capt.*] *Cap.* Q.

Chased from his land by angrie Amurath,  
 And if the right rest in this lustie Moore,  
 Bearing a princely heart unvanquishable,  
 A noble resolution than it is,  
 870 In brave Sebastian our christian king,  
 To aide this Moore with his victorious armes,  
 Thereby to propagate religious truth,  
 And plant his springing praise in Affrica.

*Ano. Capt.* But when arives this brave Sebastian,  
 To knit his forces with this manly Moore,  
 That both in one, and one in both may joyne  
 In this attempt of noble consequence?  
 Our men of Tangar long to see their king,  
 Whose princely face that lyke the summers sonne,  
 880 Glads all these hether parts of Barbarie.

*Gover.* Capitaines, he commeth hetherward amaine,  
 Top and top gallant, all in brave araie:  
 The 26. daie of June he lefte the bay of Lisborne,  
 And with all his fleete at Cardis happily he  
 Ariv'de in Spain the eight of July, tarrying for the aide  
 That Philip king of Spaine had promised,  
 And fifteene daies he there remaind aboard,  
 Expecting when this Spanish force would come,  
 Nor stept a shore as he were going still:  
 890 But Spaine that meant and minded nothing lesse,  
 Pretends a sodaine feare and care to keepe  
 His owne from Amuraths fierce invasion,  
 And to excuse his promise to our king,  
 For which he stormes as great Achilles earst  
 Lying for want of winde in Aulis gulfe,  
 And hoiseth up his sailes, and anchors waighs,  
 And hetherward he comes, and lookes to meete  
 This manly Moore, whose case he undertakes,

881 *Gover.*] *Govern.* Q.

882 *araie:*] Dyce + Bul; *araie* Q.

891 *Pretends*] pretends Q.

894 *earst*] Dyce + Bul; *earst.* Q.

895 *Aulis*] Dyce + Bul; *Aldest* Q.

Therefore go we to welcome and reseve,  
 900 With canon shot, and shouts of yong and olde,  
 This fleet of Portugals and troupe of Moores. [D<sub>4</sub><sup>v</sup>]

*Exeunt.*

[ACT III, SCENE 4]

*The Trumpets sound, the chambers are dischargde. Then enter [at one dore the Portugall army with drom and Cullors, Sebastian, Christopher de Tavera, the Duke of Avero, Stukley, Jonas and Hercules, and Lodowicke Caesar. At another dore enter the Governor of Tanger and two Captains. From behind the Curtaines enter to them the Moore and Calypolis in their Chariot, with moores one on each side attending young Mahamet.]*

*Sebast.* Muly Mahamet king of Barbarie  
 Well met, and welcome to our towne of Tanger,  
 After this sodaine shocke and haplesse warre,  
 Welcome brave Queene of Moores, repose thee here,  
 Thou and thy noble sonne, and souldiers all,  
 Repose you here in king Sebastians towne.  
 Thus farre in honor of thy name and aide  
 Lord Mahamet, we have adventured  
 910 To winne for thee a kingdome, for our selves  
 Fame, and performance of those promises,  
 That in thy faith and roialtie thou hast  
 Sworne to Sebastian king of Portugall,

899 *reseve,*] rescue, Q.

901 + S.D. *Exeunt.*] Plot; *Exit.* Q.

III.4] Act and scene division not in Q.

S.D.] *The Trumpets sound, the chambers are dischargde. Then enter the king of Portugall and the Moore, with all theyr traine.* Q; sound Enter at one dore the Portingall army with drom & Cullors: Sebastian Christoporo Duke of Avero: Stukeley Jonas & Hercules: Lodovico Caesar mr Jones: att another dore Governor of Tanger mr Shaa & 2 Captains H. Jeffes & mr Sam from behind the Curtaines to them muly mahamet & Calipolis. in their Charriott with moores one on each side & attending young mahamet Plot.

905 *Repose*] Ropose Q.

And thrive it so with thee as thou doest meane,  
 And meane thou so as thou doest wish to thrive,  
 And if our Christ for whom in chiefe we fight,  
 Heereby to inlarge the bounds of christendome,  
 Favor this warre, and as I do not doubt,  
 Send victorie to light upon my crest,  
 920 Brave Moore I will advance thy kingly sonne,  
 And with a diademe of pearle and golde,  
 Adorne thy temples and inrich thy head.

*Moore.* O brave Sebastian noble Portugall,  
 Renowmed and honoured ever maist thou bee,  
 Triumpher over those that menace thee.  
 The hellish prince grim Pluto with his mace  
 Ding downe my soule to hel, and with this soule  
 This sonne of mine, the honor of my house,  
 But I performe religiously to thee,  
 930 That I have holyly earst undertane, [E]  
 And that thy Lords and Captaines may perceive  
 My minde in this single and pure to be,  
 As pure as is the water of the brooke,  
 My dearest sonne to thee I doo ingage,  
 Receive him Lord in hostage of my vow,  
 For even my minde presageth to my selfe,  
 That in some slavish sort I shall beholde  
 Him dragde along this running river shore,  
 A spectacle to dant the pride of those  
 940 That climbe aloft by force, and not by right.

*The Moores sonne.* Nor can it otherwise befall the man  
 That keeps his seate and scepter all in feare,  
 That weares his crowne in eie of all the world,  
 Reputed theft and not inheritance.  
 What title then hath Abdelmelec here,  
 To barre our father or his progenie?

919 *crest,*] Dyce 3 Bul; crest. Q.

922 *head.*] Dyce + Bul; head, Q.

923 *Moore.*] *Moore* Q.

945 *Abdelmelec*] *Abdilmelec* Q.

946 *progenie?*] Dyce + Bul; progenie, Q.

Right roiall prince, hereof you make no doubt,  
 Agreeing with your wholesome christian lawes,  
 Helpe then couragious Lord with hand and sword,  
 950 To cleere his waie, whose lets are lawlesse men,  
 And for this deede ye all shall be renowmd,  
 Renowmd and chronicled in bookes of fame,  
 In bookes of fame and caracters of brasse,  
 Of brasse, nay beaten golde, fight then for fame,  
 And finde the Arabian Muly Hamet here,  
 Adventurous, bold, and full of rich reward.

*Stuk.* Brave boy, how plaine this princely mind in thee  
 Argues the height and honor of thy birth,  
 And well have I observ'd thy forwardnes,  
 960 Which being tendred by your majestie,  
 No doubt the quarrell opened by the mouth  
 Of this yong prince unpartially to us,  
 May animate and hearten all the hoast,  
 To fight against the devill for Lord Mahamet. [E<sup>v</sup>]

*Sebast.* True Stukley, and so freshly to my minde,  
 Hath this yong prince redus'd his fathers wrong,  
 That in good time I hope this honors fire,  
 Kindled alreadie with regard of right,  
 Bursts into open flames, and cals for warres,  
 970 Warres, warres to plant the true succeeding prince.  
 Lord Mahamet, I take thy noble sonne  
 A pledge of honor, and shal use him so.  
 Lord Lodowicke, and my good Lord of Avero  
 See this yong prince convaide safe to Messegon,  
 And there accompanide as him fitteth best,  
 And to this warre prepare ye more and lesse,  
 This rightfull warre, that Christians God will blesse.

*Exeunt.*

## ACT IV

*The presenter speaketh.*

Now hardned is this haplesse heathen prince,  
 And strengthened by the armes of Portugall,  
 980 This Moore, this murtherer of his progenie.  
 And warre and weapons now, and bloud and death  
 Wait on the counsels of this cursed king:  
 And to a bloudie banquet he invites  
 The brave Sebastian and his noble peeres.

*<Enter a banquet brought in by two moores. Enter to the bloudie banquet Sebastian, Muly Mahamet, the Duke of Avero, and Stukley. To them enter Death and three Furies, one with blood, one with Dead mens heads in dishes, another with Dead mens bones. Exeunt shew.>*

In fatall houre ariv'd this peerelesse prince,  
 To loose his life, his life and many lives  
 Of lustie men, couragious Portugals,  
 Drawen by ambitious golden lookes,  
 Let fame of him no wrongfull censure sound,  
 990 Honour was the object of his thoughtes, ambition was [E2]  
                   his ground. *Exit.*

*Act IV] Actus 4. Q.*

984 + S.D.] *Enter to the bloudie banquet. Q;* Enter a banquet brought in by mr Hunt & w. Cartwright: to the banquet enter Sebastian: Muly mahamet Duke of Avero: & Stukeley to them Death: & 3 Furies: mr Sam Ro: Tailor George & Parsons one with blood to Dy lights: one wth Dead mens heads in dishes: another wth Dead mens bones to them war w. Kendall [D] weapons dick Jubie & a Furie wth bloody clothes exeunt Plot.

## [ACT IV, SCENE 1]

*Enter Abdelmelec and his traine [with Celybin and Zareo.]*

*Abdel.* Now tell mee Celybin, what doeth theemie?

*Cely.* Theemie dread lord, hath left the towne  
Of Arzil, with a thousand souldiers armde,  
To gard his fleet of thirteene hundred saile,  
And mustering of his men before the wals,  
He found he had two thousand armed horse,  
And foureteene thousand men that serve on foot,  
Three thousand pioners, and a thousand cochmen,  
Besides a number almost numberlesse  
1000 Of drudges, Negroes, slaves and Muliters,  
Horse-boies, landresses and curtizans,  
And fiteene hundred waggons full of stuffe  
For noble men, brought up in delicate.

*Abdel.* Alas good king, thy fore-sight hath bin small  
To come with women into Barbarie,  
With landresses, with baggage, and with trash,  
Numbers unfit to multiplie thy hoast.

*Cely.* Their paiment in the campe is passing slow,  
And victuals scarce, that many faint and die.

1010 *Abdel.* But whether marcheth he in all this hast?

*Cely.* Some thinkes he marcheth hetherward,  
And meanes to take this citie of Alcazar.

*Abdel.* Unto Alcazar, O unconstant chance!

*IV.1]* Act and scene division not in Q.

*S.D. Abdelmelec]* *Abdilmelec* Q; Enter with drom & Cullors Abdelmelec  
Mahamet Xequ. Celebin Zareo & attendants Plot.

991 *Abdel.] Abdilm.* Q.

992 *Cely.] Celybin.* Q.

993 *Arzil]* Dyce + Bul; Ariel Q.

1004 *Abdel.] Abdil.* Q.

1006 *landresses.]* Dyce + Bul; landresse, Q.

1010 *Abdel.] Abdilm.* Q.

1013 *Abdel.] Abdil.* Q.

*Cely.* The brave and valiant king of Portugall  
 Quarters his power in foure batalians,  
 Afront the which, to welcome us withall,  
 Are sixe and thirtie roaring peeces plast,  
 The first consisting of light armed horse,  
 And of the garisons from Tangar brought  
 1020 Is lead by Alvaro Peres de Taverro, [E2<sup>v</sup>]  
 The left or middle battell of Italians,  
 And Germane horse-men Stukley doth command,  
 A warlike Englishman sent by the pope,  
 That vainly cals himselfe Marques of Ireland.  
 Alonso Aquilaz conducts the third,  
 That wing of Germaine souldiers most consists.  
 The fourth legion is none but Portugals,  
 Of whom Lodevico Caesar hath the chiefest charge,  
 Besides there stand sixe thousand horse  
 1030 Bravely attirde, prest where need requires.  
 Thus have I tolde your roiall majestie,  
 How he is plac'd to brave his fight.

*Abdel.* But where's our nephew Muly Mahamet?

*Cely.* He marcheth in the middle, garded about  
 With full five hundred hargubuze on foote,  
 And twice three thousand needlesse armed pikes.

*Zareo.* Great soveraigne, vouchsafe to heare me speak,  
 And let Zareos counsell now prevaile,  
 Whilst time doth serve, and that these Christians dare  
 1040 Approch the field with warlike Ensignes spread,  
 Let us in hast with all our forces meete,  
 And hemme them in, that not a man escape,  
 So will they be advise another time,  
 How they doo touch the shore of Barbarie.

*Abdel.* Zareo, heare our resolution,  
 And thus our forces we will first dispose,  
 Hamet my brother with a thousand shot  
 On horse-backe, and choice harguebuziers all,

1033 *Abdel.] Abdil. Q.*

1034 *Cely.] Cely Q.*

1045 *Abdel.] Abdilm. Q.*

Having ten thousand horse with speare and shield,  
 1050 Shall make the right wing of the battell up,  
 Zareo you shall have in charge the left,  
 Two thousand argolets and ten thousand horse,  
 The maine battell of harguebuze on foot,  
 And twentie thousand horse-men in their troupes,  
 My selfe invirond with my trustie gard [E<sub>3</sub>]  
 Of Janizaries, fortunate in warre,  
 And toward Arzil will we take our waie,  
 If then our enemie will balke our force,  
 In Gods name let him, it will be his best,  
 1060 But if he levell at Alcazar wals,  
 Then beate him backe with bullets as thicke as haile,  
 And make him know and rue his oversight,  
 That rashly seekes the ruine of this land. *Exeunt.*

[ACT IV, SCENE 2]

*Enter [by Torch light to counsaile] Sebastian king of Portugall, the Duke of Avero, Stukley, and [Jonas with soldiers, a guard].*

*Sebast.* Why tell me Lords, why left ye Portugall,  
 And crost the seas with us to Barbarie,  
 Was it to see the countrie and no more,  
 Or else to fly before ye were assaild?  
 I am ashamd to thinke that such as you,  
 Whose deeds have bin renownmed heretofore,  
 1070 Should slacke in such an act of consequence,  
 We come to fight, and fighting vow to die,  
 Or else to win the thing for which we came,  
 Because Abdelmelec as pittying us,

1049 *ten thousand horse with]* ten thousand with Q; ten thousand foot with Bul.

*IV.2]* Act and scene division not in Q.

*S.D.] Enter Sebastian king of Portugall, the Duke of Avero, Stukley, and others. Q; Enter by Torch light to counsaile: Sebastian Duke of Avero Stukeley: & Jonas wth soldiars: a guard Plot.*

1067 *fly]* Dyce + Bul; slay Q.

1073 *Abdelmelec]* *Abdilmelec* Q.

Sends messages to counsell quietnes,  
 You stand amaz'd and thinke it sound advise,  
 As if our enemie would wish us anie good,  
 No, let him know we scorne his curtesie,  
 And will resist his forces what so ere.  
 Cast feare aside, my selfe will leade the way,  
 1080 And make a passage with my conquering sword  
 Knee deepe in bloud of these accursed Moores,  
 And they that love my honor follow me.  
 Were you as resolute as is your king,  
 Alcazar wals should fall before your face,  
 And all the force of this Barbarian Lord  
 Should be confounded, were it ten times more.

[E3<sup>v</sup>]

*Avero.* So well become these words a kingly mouth  
 That are of force to make a coward fight,  
 But when advice and prudent fore-sight  
 1090 Is joyned with such magnanimitie,  
 Trophes of victorie and kingly spoiles  
 Adorne his crowne, his kingdome, and his fame.

[*Enter Christopher de Tavera, the Governor of Tanger,  
 and Hercules.*]

*Herc.* We have descride upon the mountaine tops  
 A hugie companie of invading Moores,  
 And they my lord, as thicke as winters haile,  
 Will fall upon our heads at unawares,  
 Best then betimes t'avoide this gloomie storme,  
 It is in vaine to strive with such a streame.

*Enter Muly Mahamet.*

*Moore.* Beholde thrice noble Lorde, uncalde I come,  
 1100 To counsell where necessitie commands,  
 And honor of undoubted victorie,  
 Makes me exclime upon this dastard flight.  
 Why king Sebastian, wilt thou now fore-slow,

1091 *Trophes*] Dyce + Bul; Troupes Q.

1092 + S.D.] not in Q; to them Christoporo Dick Jubie; the Governor of  
 Tanger: & w. kendall Plot.

1099 *Moore.*] *Muly Mah.* Q.

And let so great a glorie slip thy hands?  
 Saie you doo march unto Larissa now,  
 The forces of the foe are come so nigh,  
 That he will let the passage of the river,  
 So unawares you will be forst to fight.  
 But know O king, and you thrice valiant Lords,  
 1110 Few blowes will serve, I aske but onely this,  
 That with your power you march into the field,  
 For now is all the armie resolute,  
 To leave the traitor helplesse in the fight,  
 And flie to me as to their rightfull prince, [E4]  
 Some horse-men have alreadie lead the waie,  
 And vow the like for their companions,  
 The host is full of tumult and of feare.  
 Then as you come to plant me in my seate,  
 And to inlarge your fame in Affrica,  
 1120 Now, now or never bravely execute  
 Your resolution sound and honorable,  
 And end this warre together with his life,  
 That doth usurpe the crowne with tyrannie.

*Sebast.* Captaines, you heare the reasons of the king,  
 Which so effectually have pearst mine eares,  
 That I am fully resolute to fight,  
 And who refuseth now to follow me,  
 Let him be ever counted cowardly.

1130 *Avero.* Shame be his share that flies when kings do fight,  
 Avero laies his life before your feet.

*Stuk.* For my parte Lordes, I cannot sell by bloud  
 Deerer than in the companie of kings. *Exeunt.*

*Manet Muly Mahamet.*

*Moore.* Now have I set these Portugals aworke,  
 To hew a waie for me unto the crowne,  
 Or with your weapons here to dig your graves,

1105 *Larissa]* *Tarissa* Q.

1125 *mine]* *wine* Q.

1131 *Stuk.] Stukley* Q.

1133 *Moore.] Muly Ma.* Q.

You bastards of the night and Erybus,  
 Fiends, Fairies, hags that fight in beds of steele,  
 Range through this armie with your yron whips,  
 Drive forward to this deed this christian crew,  
 1140 And let me triumph in the tragedie,  
 Though it be seald and honourd with my bloud,  
 Both of the Portugall and barbarous Moore,  
 Ride Nemisis, ride in thy firie cart,  
 And sprinkle gore amongst these men of warre, [E4<sup>v</sup>]  
 That either partie eager of revenge,  
 May honor thee with sacrifice of death,  
 And having bath'd thy chariot wheelles in bloud,  
 Descend and take to thy tormenting hell,  
 The mangled bodie of that traitor king,  
 1150 That scornes the power and force of Portugall.  
 Then let the earth discover to his ghost,  
 Such tortures as usurpers feele below,  
 Rackt let him be in proud Ixions wheele,  
 Pinde let him be with Tantalus endlesse thirst,  
 Praie let him be to Titans greedie bird,  
 Wearied with Sisiphus immortall toile,  
 And lastly for revenge, for deepe revenge,  
 Whereof thou goddesse and deviser art,  
 Damnd let him be, damnd and condemnd to beare  
 1160 All torments, tortures, plagues and paines of hell.

*Exit.*

[ACT V]

*Enter the Presenter before the last dumbe show, and speaketh.*

Ill be to him that so much ill bethinkes,  
 And ill betide this foule ambitious Moore,

1136 *bastards*] Dyce 3 Bul: dastards Q.

1139 *Drive*] Driuc Q.

1155 *Titans*] *Tisons* Q; Tityus' Dyce + Bul.

*Act V*] Act division not in Q.

Whose wily traines with smoothest course of speech,  
 Hath tide and tangled in a dangerous warre,  
 The fierce and manly king of Portugall.

*Lightning and thunder.*

Nowe throwe the heavens foorth their lightning flames,  
 And thunder over Affrickes fatall fields,  
 Bloud will have bloud, foul murther scape no scourge.

*Enter Fame like an Angell, and hangs the crownes upon  
 a tree.*

At last descendeth fame as Iris,  
 1170 To finish fainting Didoes dying lyfe,  
 Fame from her stately bowre doth descend,  
 And on the tree as fruit new ripe to fall,  
 Placeth the crownes of these unhappie kings,  
 That earst she kept in eie of all the world.

[F]

*Heere the blazing Starre.*

Now fire starres and streaming comets blaze,  
 That threat the earth and princes of the same.

*Fire workes.*

Fire, fire about the axiltree of heaven,  
 Whoorles round, and from the foot of Casyopa  
 In fatall houre consumes these fatall crownes,

*One fals.*

1180 Downe fals the diademe of Portugall,

*The other fals.*

The crownes of Barbary and kingdomes fall,  
 Ay me, that kingdomes may not stable stand,  
 And now approching neere the dismall day,  
 The bloudie daie wherein the battels joyne,  
 Mondaie the fourth of August seventie eight,  
 The sunne shines wholly on the parched earth,  
 The brightest planet in the highest heaven,

The heathens eager bent against their foe,  
 Give onset with great ordnance to the warre.  
 1190 The christians with great noise of canon shot,  
 Send angrie onsets to the enemy.  
 Geve eare and heare how warre begins his song,  
 With dreadfull clamors, noise, and trumpets sound.

*Exit.*

[ACT V, SCENE I]

Alarums within, let the chambers be discharged, then enter to  
 the battell, and the Moores flie.

Skirmish still, then enter Abdelmelec in his chaire, Zareo  
 and their traine.

*Abdel.* Saie on Zareo, tell me all the newes,  
 Tell me what furie rangeth in our campe,  
 That hath inforst our Moores to turne their backes. [Fv]  
 Zareo saie, what chance did bode this ill,  
 What ill inforst this dastard cowardise?

*Zareo.* My Lord, such chance as wilfull warre affords  
 1200 Such chances and misfortunes as attend  
 On him, the God of battell and of armes,  
 My Lord, when with our ordenance fierce we sent  
 Our Moores with smaller shot as thicke as haile,  
 Followes apace to charge the Portugall,  
 The valiant Duke the devill of Averø,  
 The bane of Barbary, fraughted full of ire  
 Breakes through the ranks, and with five hundred horsse  
 All men at armes, forward and full of might,  
 Assaults the middle wing, and puts to flight  
 1210 Eight thousand Harquebush that serv'd on foot,  
 And twentie thousand Moores with speare & sheild:  
 And therewithall the honour of the day.

V.1] Act and scene division not in Q.

S.D. *Abdelmelec*] *Abdilmelec* Q.

1194 *Abdel.*] *Abdil.* Q.

*Abdel.* Ah Abdelmelec doost thou live to heare  
 This bitter processe of this first attempt?  
 Labour my Lords to renue our force,  
 Of fainting Moores, and fight it to the last.  
 My horsse Zareo, O the goale is lost,  
 The goale is lost, thou King of Portugall  
 Thrice happy chance it is for thee and thine  
 1220 That heavens abates my strength and calles me hence.  
 My sight doth faile, my soule, my feeble soule  
 Shall be releaste from prison on this earth:  
 Farwell vaine world for I have playd my parte.  
 He dyeth.

A long Skirmidge, and then enter his brother Muly  
 Mahomet Seth.

*Muly Mah. S.* Brave Abdelmelec, thou thrise noble Lord,  
 Not such a wound was given to Barbary,  
 Had twenty hoasts of men beene put to swoord [F2]  
 As death, plae death with fatall shaft hath given.  
 Loe dead is he, my brother and my King  
 Whome I might have reviv'd with newes I bring.  
 1230 *Zareo.* His honours and his types he hath resignde  
 Unto the world, and of a manly man  
 Loe, in a twinckling a sencelesse stocke we see.

*Muly Mah. S.* You trustie soldiers of this warlike King,  
 Be counsailde now by us in this advise,  
 Let not his death be bruted in the campe,  
 Least with the sodaine sorrowe of the newes,  
 The armye wholly be discomfited.  
 My Lord Zareo thus I comforte you,  
 Our Moores have bravely borne themselves in fight  
 1240 Likely to get the honour of the day  
 If ought may gotten be where losse is such.  
 Therefore in this apparell as he dyed  
 My noble brother will we heere advance  
 And set him in his chayre with cunning props,

1224 *Muly Mah. S.] Muly. Q.*

1233 *Muly Mah. S.] Muly. Q.*

That our Barbarians may beholde their King  
And thinke he doth repose him in his Tent.

*Zareo.* Right pollitique and good is your advice.

*Muly Mah. S.* Goe then to see it speedily performd.

Brave Lord, if Barbary recover this,

1250 Thy soule with joy will sit and see the sight.

*Exeunt.*

Alarmes. Enter to the battaile, and the christians flye.  
The Duke of Averro slaine.

*Enter Sebastian and Stukley.*

*Sebast.* Seest thou not Stukley, O Stukley seest thou not  
The great dishonour doone to Christendome?

Our cheerfull onset crost in springing hope, [F3]

The brave and mightie prince, Duke of Averro

Slaine in my sight, now joy betide his ghost,

For like a lyon did he beare himselfe.

Our battels are all now disordered,

And by our horses strange retiring backe,

Our middle wing of foot-men over-rod.

1260 Stukley, alas I see my over-sight,

False hearted Mahamet, now to my cost,

I see thy trecherie, warnd to beware

A face so full of fraud and villanie.

Alarums within, and they runne out, and two set uppon  
Stukley, and he driveth them in.

Then enter the Moore and his boy flying.

*Moore.* Villaine, a horse.

*Boy.* Oh my Lord, if you returne you die.

*Moore.* Villaine I saie, give me a horse to flie,  
To swimme the river villaine, and to flie.

*Exit boy.*

1247-1250 Q prints as one speech with prefix *Zareo.* *advice.*] advice, Q.

1250 + S.D. *Stukley*] *Stukeley* Q.

Where shall I finde some unfrequented place,  
 Some uncouth walke where I may curse my fill,  
 1270 My starres, my dam, my planets and my nurse,  
 The fire, the aire, the water, and the earth,  
 All causes that have thus conspirde in one,  
 To nourish and preserve me to this shame,  
 Thou that wert at my birth predominate,  
 Thou fatall starre, what planet ere thou be,  
 Spit out thy poison bad, and all the ill  
 That fortune, fate or heaven may bode a man.  
 Thou Nurse infortunate, guiltie of all:  
 Thou mother of my life that broughtst me forth,  
 1280 Curst maist thou be for such a cursed sonne,  
 Curst by thy sonne with everie curse thou hast,  
 Ye elements of whome consists this play,  
 This masse of flesh, this cursed crazed corpes, [F3]  
 Destroy, dissolve, disturbe, and dissipate,  
 What water, earth, and aire conjeald.

Alarums and enter the boy.

*Boy.* Oh my Lorde, these ruthlesse Moores pursue you at  
 the heeles,

And come amaine to put you to the sword.

*Moore.* A horse, a horse, villaine a horse,  
 That I may take the river straight and flie.

1290 *Boy.* Here is a horse my Lord,  
 As swiftly pac'd as Pegasus,  
 Mount thee thereon, and save thy selfe by flight.

*Moore.* Mount me I will,  
 But may I never passe the river till I be  
 Revengde upon thy soule accursed Abdelmelec,  
 If not on earth, yet when we meete in hell,  
 Before grim Minos, Rodamant, and Eocus,  
 The cumbat will I crave upon thy ghost,

1286 *ruthlesse*] *ru*thlesse Q.

1289 *flie.*] Dyce + Bul; flie, Q.

1295 *Abdelmelec*] *Abdilmelec* Q.

And drag thee thorough the lothsome pooles,  
 1300 Of Lethes, Stikes, and firie Phlegiton. *Exit.*

Alarums.

Enter Stukley with two Italians.

*Italian.* Stand traitor, stand ambitious English-man,  
 Proud Stukley stand, and stirre not ere thou die,  
 Thy forwardnes to follow wrongfull armes,  
 And leave our famous expedition earst,  
 Intended by his holynes for Ireland,  
 Fouly hath here betraide, and tide us all  
 To ruthlesse furie of our heathen foe,  
 For which as we are sure to die,  
 Thou shalt paie satisfaction with thy bloud.

1310 *Stuk.* Avant base villaines, twit ye me with shame [F3<sup>v</sup>]  
 Or infamie of this injurious warre?  
 When he that is the judge of right and wrong  
 Determines battaile as him pleaseth best.  
 But sith my starres bode me this tragicke end  
 That I must perrish by these barbarous Moores,  
 Whose weapons have made passage for my soule  
 That breakes from out the prison of my brest,  
 Ye proud malicious dogges of Italy  
 Strike on, strike downe this body to the earth  
 1320 Whose mounting minde stoopes to no feeble stroke.

Stab him.

*Second Italian.* Why suffer we this English man to live?  
 Villaine bleed on, thy blood in chanel run  
 And meet with those whome thou to death hast doon.

*Exeunt [two Italians].*

*Stuk.* Thus Stukley slaine with many a deadly stab,  
 Dyes in these desart feilds of Affrica.

1301 *Italian.] Herc. Q.*

1321 *Second Italian.] Ionas. Q.*

1323 *doon.] Dyce + Bul; doon Q.*

Harke freindes, and with the story of my life  
 Let me beguile the torment of my death.

In Englands London Lordings was I borne,  
 On that brave Bridge, the barre that thwarts the Thames.  
 1330 My golden dayes, my yonger carelesse yeeres,  
 Were when I toucht the height of Fortunes wheele,  
 And liv'd in affluence of wealth and ease.  
 Thus in my Countrie carried long aloft,  
 A discontented humor drave me thence  
 To crosse the Seas to Ireland, then to Spaine,  
 There had I welcome and right royall pay  
 Of Phillip, whome some call the Catholique King,  
 There did Tom Stukley glitter all in golde,  
 Mounted upon his Jennet white as snowe,  
 1340 Shining as Phoebus in King Phillips Court,  
 There like a Lord, famous Don Stukley liv'd,  
 For so they calde me in the Court of Spaine [F4]  
 Till for a blowe I gave a Bishops man,  
 A strife gan rise betweene his Lord and me,  
 For which, we both were banisht by the King.  
 From thence, to Rome rides Stukley all a flaunt,  
 Receivd with royall welcomes of the Pope.  
 There was I grac'd by Gregorye the great,  
 That then created me Marquis of Ireland.  
 1350 Short be my tale, because my life is short,  
 The coast of Italy and Rome I left.  
 Then was I made Leiftennant Generall  
 Of those small Forces that for Ireland went,  
 And with my companies embarkt at Ostia.  
 My Sayles I spred, and with these men of warre  
 In fatal houre at Lishborne we ariv'd.  
 From thence to this, to this hard exigent  
 Was Stukley driven to fight or els to dye,  
 Dar'd to the field, that never could endure  
 1360 To heare God Mars his drum, but he must martch.  
 Ah sweet Sebastian, hadst thou beene well advise  
 Thou mightst have manag'd armes sucesfully.

1354 *Ostia.*] Dyce + Bul; *Austria* Q.

But from our Cradles we were marked all  
 And destinate to dye in Affric heere.  
 Stukley, the story of thy life is tolde,  
 Here breath thy last and bid thy freindes farwell.  
 And if thy Countries kindnes be so much,  
 Then let thy Countrie kindly ring thy knell.  
 Now goe, and in that bed of honour dye  
 1370 Where brave Sebastians breathles Course doth lye.  
 Here endeth Fortune, rule, and bitter rage:  
 Heere ends Tom Stukleys pilgrimage.      He dyeth

Enter Muly Mahamet Seth and his traine, with Drums  
 and Trumpets.

*Muly Mah. S.* Retreat is sounded through our Camp, &  
 now

From battells furie cease our conquering Moores,      [F4<sup>v</sup>]  
 Paie thanks to heaven with sacrificing fire,  
 Alcazar and ye townes of Barbarie.  
 Now hast thou sit as in a trance and seene,  
 To thy soules joy and honor of thy house,  
 The trophes and the triumphs of thy men,  
 1380 Great Abdelmelec, and the God of kings,  
 Hath made thy warre succesfull by thy right,  
 His friends whom death and fates hath tane from thee,  
 Lo this was he that was the peoples pride,  
 And cheerfull Sun-shine to his subjects all,  
 Now have him hence, that roially he may  
 Be buried and imbalmd, as is meete.  
 Zareo, have you thorough the campe proclaimd  
 As earst we gave in charge?

*Zareo.* We have my Lorde, and rich rewardes proposde  
 1390 For them that finde the bodie of the king,  
 For by those gard that had him in their charge,  
 We understand that he was done to death,  
 And for this search two prisoners Portugals

1372 + S.D. *Mahamet*] *Mahomet* Q.

1373 *Muly Mah. S.*] *Muly.* Q.

1380 *Abdelmelec,*] *Abdilmelec* Q.

Are set at large to finde their roiall king.

*Muly Mah. S.* But of the traitrous Moore you heare no newes.

That fled the field and fought to swim the foord?

*Zareo.* Not yet my Lord, but doubtlesse God wil tell  
And with his finger point out where he hants.

*Muly Mah. S.* So let it rest, and on this earth bestow  
1400 This princely coarse, till further for his funerals  
We provide.

*Zareo.* From him to thee as true succeeding prince,  
With all allegiance, and with honors tipes,  
In name of all thy people and thy land,  
We give this kingly crowne and diademe.

*Muly Mah. S.* We thanke you all, and as my lawfull right,  
With Gods defence and yours shall I keepe. [G]

*Enter two Portugals with the bodie of the king.*

*Port.* As gave your grace in charge, right roiall prince,  
The fields and sandie plaines we have survaide,  
1410 And even among the thickest of his Lords,  
The noble king of Portugall we found  
Wrapt in his coulours coldly on the earth,  
And done to death with many a mortall wound.

*Muly Mah. S.* Lo here my Lords, this is the earth and  
claie,  
Of him that earst was mightie king of Portugall,  
There let him lie, and you for this be free,  
To make returne from hence to christendome.

*Enter two bringing in the Moore.*

*One.* Long live the mightie king of Barbary.

*Muly Mah. S.* Welcome my friend, what bodie hast thou  
there?

1395 *Muly Mah. S.] Muly Mah. Q.*

1399 *Muly Mah. S.] Muly Mah. Q.*

1406 *Muly Mah. S.] Muly Q.*

1414 *Muly Mah. S.] Mah. Q.*

1419 *Muly Mah. S.] Mah. Q.*

1420 *One.* The bodie of the ambitious enemie,  
 That squandred all this bloud in Affrica,  
 Whose mallice sent so many soules to hell,  
 The traitor Muly Mahamet doo I bring,  
 And for thy slave I throw him at thy feet.

*Muly Mah. S.* Zareo, give this man a rich reward,  
 And thanked be the God of just revenge,  
 That he hath given our foe into our hands,  
 Beastly, unarmed, slavish, full of shame,  
 But saie, how came this traitor to his end?

1430 *One.* Seeking to save his life by shamefull flight,  
 He mounteth on a hot Barbarian horse,  
 And so in purpose to have past the streame,  
 His headstrong stead throwes him from out his seate,  
 Where diving oft for lacke of skill to swim,  
 It was my chance alone to see him drownd,  
 Whom by the heeles I dragd from out the poole,  
 And hether have him brought thus filde with mud.

[G<sup>v</sup>]

*Muly Mah. S.* A death too good for such a damned wretch,  
 But sith our rage and rigor of revenge,  
 1440 By violence of his end prevented is,  
 That all the world may learne by him to avoide,  
 To hall on princes to injurious warre,  
 His skin we will be parted from his flesh,  
 And being stifned out and stuft with strawe,  
 So to deterre and feare the lookers on,  
 From anie such foule fact or bad attempt,  
 Awaie with him.  
 And now my Lords, for this christian king,  
 My Lord Zareo, let it be your charge,  
 1450 To see the souldiers tread a solempne march,  
 Trailing their pikes and Ensignes on the ground,  
 So to performe the princes funeralls.

*Here endeth the tragicall battell of Alcazar.*

1425 *Muly Mah. S.] Mah. Q.*

1430 *One.] One, Q.*

1438 *Muly Mah. S.] Mah. Q.*

# EXPLANATORY NOTES

The purpose of the explanatory notes is to justify the few emendations admitted into the text, explain some of the doubtful readings of the quarto that have been allowed to stand without emendation, and explain the elaborate dumb shows and stage directions in the play.

Most of the emendations adopted in the stage directions have the substantive authority of the plot; emendations in the text do not. The readings of the derived texts of Dyce and Bullen have no authority when they depart from the quarto; therefore only the most convincing of their emendations are listed in the footnotes at the bottom of each page of the text; a few others, however, should not be ignored and are recorded in this section.

Greg's comments on some of the stage directions have been condensed where possible, but for others, the reader's attention has been directed to his fuller, technical analysis of the theatrical plot.

I. Ind. S.D. *Enter the Presenter [as a Portingall]*.

*Enter the Presenter. Q; Enter a Portingall Plot.*

This single direction in the plot is the only clue that distinguishes the Presenter's habit from that of the conventional "chorus," as Greg observed (*Abridgements*, p. 78). His office, however, is conventional, since he acquaints the audience with the causes of civil strife and points forward to the catastrophe. His habit as a Portuguese soldier or gentleman may have been suggested to Peele by the "namelesse Portugall auctor" on the title page of Polemon's account of the battle. The Presenter's tone and viewpoint are European, not Moorish. He is practically to be identified with some eyewitness of the battle like Frey Luis Nieto, from whose original *Relacion de las Guerras de Berberia* Peele's chronicle play ultimately derives. In addition to his role as "chorus," the Presenter also acts as showman to the dumb pageants and interprets the significance of these pantomimes for the audience.

2 *rule: i.e.*, the good order or discipline of kingly conduct. Cf. *Macbeth*, V,2,15-16: "He cannot buckle his distemper'd cause / Within the belt of rule."

14 *desines*: Clearly the sense here is 'Abdallas dies, and *designates* this tyrant king.' The emendation "leaves" suggests the meaning of the line

but does not suggest how the error was made. The *s* and the *i* have probably been transposed. It may be objected that *desines* gives the line an extra unaccented syllable; many far less "metrical" lines are to be found in the text.

- 20 *devils coted in the shapes of men*: Greg conjectured that the allusion may not be "merely rhetorical, but that at least one of the murderers in the dumb show was actually provided with certain diabolical attributes" (*Abridgements*, p. 50). Why just one, or what a "diabolical attribute" might be, I do not know.

My conjectural reconstruction of the stage directions of the first dumb show was suggested, except for some details, by W. W. Greg. See *Abridgements*, pp. 49-50. Greg's arguments are persuasive but his reconstruction of the stage direction is too descriptive to be introduced into a conservative edition of the play. The descriptive details for which there is no authority in either the quarto or the plot have been rejected. The murderers and the Moor's son must have left the stage when the Moor *took his leave*; but as neither the plot nor quarto specifically mention it, the direction has not been admitted to this text. The two murderers bring Abdelmunen on the stage when they re-enter.

Following Greg's reasonable analysis, I have separated the last two lines of the direction. The Presenter's comment thus precedes the pantomime of Abdelmunen's murder and the stage direction suggests a continuous action of the dumb show. The number of characters and stage properties might vary considerably of course in different productions. The production represented by the plot may have been as elaborate as Greg suggested.

There remains one problem which Greg apparently overlooked: Why do both the plot and the quarto include the Moor's son in this dumb show? There is no direction about his part in the pantomime, except the direction that he enters. Nor is he mentioned in the commentary that the Presenter makes on the pantomime. The boy must somehow have been distinguished from the *yong princes*, the Moor's brothers, but how could the audience know who this boy was meant to represent? It seems strange that he was not omitted when the two pages were omitted from the quarto version.

- 21-23 *mumd*: i.e. made silent, struck dumb. Much has been written about these lines. Cf. Dyce 2, especially the "Additional Notes," 3, 197-198. K. Deighton suggested: "*Let those that are by kind of murder fond, / Sit down.*" *The Old Dramatists*, p. 104.

*Sit downe*: Bullen suggested that the line should read "Sit dumb." See, however, l. 49 and C.T.S. (sig. L<sup>3</sup>): "Sit now and see unto our story's end / All those mishaps that this poor prince attend."

- I.1 S.D. (Plot)

sound Enter Abdelmelec : mr Doughton : Calcepius  
 bassa mr Iubie : Zareo mr Charles attendat  
 wth <th>e Bassa : w. Kendall : Ro : Tailor &  
 Georg<e:

The quarto direction calls for soldiers to accompany Zareo, Abdelmelec's general, but the plotter apparently had only three extra actors, whom he used for the Bassa's guard. I suppose that the quarto direction is the original direction of the playwright, who presumably did not worry about the number of actors that could be spared to play these minor roles. The plot represents the practical interpretation of that direction.

The scene is on the frontier of Barbary. Abdelmelec has returned with Turkish forces to claim his right to his father's throne. Polemon gives this account of Abdelmelec's welcome (sig. S<sub>3</sub><sup>v</sup>): "When he came to *Tremissen*, he was very honorably receaued, and there stayed sixe dayes for to make prouision of all things necessarie for the warres, and he with his younger brother *Hamet*, whom he found there, leuied twelue thousand speares. . . ."

- 54 *Argerd Zareo*: Professor W. G. Rice has suggested that for the unintelligible *Argerd*, the title "Argere" should be substituted, i.e. "Zareo of Argier." Cf. *MLN*, 58 (1943), 430.
- 62 *Amurath*: i.e. Murad III (1574-1595), generally pictured by the Elizabethans as a cruel voluptuary. Cf. 2 *Henry IV*, 5.2.47-48: "This is the English, not the Turkish court; / Not Amurath an Amurath succeeds."
- 85 *Janisaries*: literally the new soldiers; for a contemporary account of the "Janizers" see Giovio's *Shorte Treatise upon the Turkes Chronicles* . . . 1546, sigs. Q<sub>2</sub><sup>v</sup>-Q<sub>3</sub>: "These be electe and chosen (when they be but verye babes) oute of the most warlyke and valyaunt Christyten nations. . . ."
- 86 *son to Sultan Solimon*: i.e., Suleiman I, who was the father of Selim I and the grandfather of Murad III, but Peele's historical inaccuracy may be explained by the account that he read in the *Second booke of Battailles*, sig. S<sub>3</sub>.
- 86+ S.D. The entrance of three characters only is indicated by the plot. Greg has already pointed out that the "supernumerary characters give some trouble in this scene." The plotter had only three actors to spare and these he employed as the Bassa's guard. There were no *others* to accompany Muly Mahamet Seth and the two women in the production represented by the plot. The quarto direction is to be preferred to the plot's because, as Greg observed, the quarto direction is very natural "and is likely to be original, its very vagueness suggesting the author" (*Abridgements*, p. 52).
- 91 *wave*: The compositor probably reversed the *u*. It is possible that he did not read ahead, but assumed that the phrase "to wane" completed

the sentence. Muly Mahamet Seth is clearly referring to the waving flags or banners of the Turkish forces. The crescent, the military and religious symbol of the Ottoman Turks, appeared on the standards of the janissaries as early as the fourteenth century. The silver moons can be seen waving over the army of Abdelmelec in the map of the battle of Alcazar preserved in Hatfield House. See Henri de Castries' *Histoire du Maroc*, 1st Ser., Archives d'Angleterre, 1 (1918), 563. If this emendation is accepted, Greg's comment on ll. 91-92 must be rejected. Greg apparently did not question the phrase "to wane," and judged that it was intended to rime with *plaine* in the next line: "Rime is not much used in the play, but it is clearly intended in this speech, and its breakdown suggests cutting" (*Abridgements*, p. 104). Unless in these lines in question, there is no rime in this speech, nor indeed in the whole scene. The speech appears to be wholly preserved.

- 94 *a starre*: presumably the same *glorious comet* that is referred to in the S.D. of l. 1174 ff., for the star on the modern Turkish flag dates from a period later than the sixteenth century. The allusion may be to one of the famous comets discovered by Tycho Brahe. It was a common tradition that Sebastian drew encouragement from the appearance of the comet of 1577, but presumably Abdelmelec could draw the same encouragement from the same portent. See *State Papers, Domestic, Eliz.*, *Add.* 1566-1579, pp. 521-522.

117-129 Cf. *Second booke of Battailes*, sigs. R<sub>3</sub><sup>v</sup>-R<sub>4</sub><sup>v</sup>.

127-129 These lines as printed in the quarto are obviously faulty:

*Abdallas* was the first  
Eldest of faire *Abdelmenen* the second,  
And we the rest my brother and my selfe.

The meaning of Abdelmelec's speech is clear: 'Abdallas was the first, the eldest of four sons; Abdelmunen was the second, and we are the other two sons—Muly Mahamet Seth and myself.' The emendation has the support of Polemon's account in *The Second booke of Battailes*, sig. R<sub>4</sub><sup>v</sup>. It is not difficult to see how the compositor might have read *faire* for "foure." The omission of the comma is less easily explained. Even as emended the line is extra-metrical. The probable pronunciation of the name Abdelmunen is indicated in line 166.

- 160 *reach?*: Dyce + Bul; *reach*, Q. The question mark is not absolutely required but some final mark of punctuation is needed to indicate the relation of lines in this speech. The query may have been cut.
- 167 *Plutos graves*: Cf. "The Gnosian Judge in Plutoes pyts doth tosse in torments still," *Seneca His Tenne Tragedies*, ed. Newton, 2, 102.
- I.2 S.D. The plot supports the addition of three characters to the stage direction: two pages and the Moor's wife. Directions to *sound sennett* frequently appear in the margins of the plot. They may not always represent the original directions, but there are some stage directions in

the *quarto* that indicate the sound of drums and trumpets. These directions may well be original: initial S.D. I.1, III.4, etc.

Besides the evidence of the plot, there are other reasons for supposing that Calypolis appeared in the original version of the scene, since it is evidently Calypolis who is addressed as *Madame* (l. 196). Greg observed that the scene as a whole affords some of the "clearest evidence of revision" in the play. Calypolis nowhere speaks in the scene. The plot does not indicate that she leaves the stage with Pisano. Nor does the *quarto* suggest that she, like Pisano, falls into the hands of the enemy, for she is driven into exile with her husband and her son (II.3). "At the same time," as Greg remarked, "it is unreasonable to expect her to remain present throughout the rest of the scene without once speaking. We must, therefore, suppose that her part has been deliberately cut out" (*Abridgements*, p. 105).

The *quarto* text elsewhere suggests that it was cut for performance by a small company with few boy actors, perhaps only two. If so, they would be needed to play the parts of Rubin Archis and Abdil Rayes in the previous scene—and the parts of Calypolis and the pages would therefore have to be cut from the *quarto* text. The *gard* mentioned is no doubt to be identified with the *moores attendant* of the plot, and is of course the Moor's guard. They do not leave with Pisano. Apparently the *treasure*, as Greg suggested, represents a conception of the playwright that failed to materialize in the production represented by the plot.

190 *argolets*: i.e., light-armed horse-soldiers, originally mounted bowmen. The OED quotes this line as the earliest example, but Polemon used the word several times.

196 *Madame, gold is the glue, sinewes, and strength of war*: Cf. Bacon, "Of the True Greatness of Kingdoms and Estates" (*Essays*, ed. Scott, p. 135): "Neither is money the sinews of war (as it is trivially said,) where the sinews of men's arms, in base and effeminate people, are failing." According to Miss Scott, Aeschines attributed this metaphor to Demosthenes, but a careful reading of Aeschines' *Speeches* has not revealed the reference. Cicero in his fifth Philippic against Antony used the expression *nervos belli, pecuniam infinitam*. Messinger used much the same image in *Believe As You List*.

198 S.D.                                      Away.                      [Exit Pisano.]  
Now boy whats the newes?

Dyce and Bullen counted as one line, and printed: "Away! [Exit Pisano *with the treasure and some of the Guard.*] Now, boy, what's the news?" The plot reads: *exit mr Sam manet the rest*. That is, 'exit Sam Rowley, who played the part of Pisano, and manent the rest of the characters.' The guard is the Moor's guard and does not go off with Pisano. Apparently the *treasure* did not appear on the stage in

the production represented by the plot, though the Moor clearly directs Pisano to take it. The Moor's chariot again appears in III.4. How are we to imagine that the chariot appeared on the stage? Greg suggested that in both scenes the "chariot was concealed behind the traverse and that the entry of Mahamet and Calipolis was effected by drawing apart the curtains" (*Abridgements*, p. 62). If this is so, might not the *treasure* have remained in the chariot? Greg suggested that attendants on each side of the chariot moved it forward, but a small company might not have enough actors for the job. How the *carriage* was removed when Pisano left the stage cannot be determined by evidence in the plot.

214 *bug*: i.e. bugbear. The word is to be found frequently in *Seneca His Tenne Tragedies* (1581); see especially *Hercules Oetaeus*, Act I. See also *Selimus*, l. 2418; and *Arden of Feversham*, III,2,18-20; and 3 *Henry VI*, V,2,2.

218 *Beare*: Bear, i.e. "hold all the offices, wield the power." William S. Walker first suggested this emendation in *A Critical Examination of the Text of Shakespeare*, 1 (1860), 323. Both Dyce and Bullen accepted the reading. It is easy to see how the compositor's eye might have caught the word *barre* in the next line.

Saturn had three sons, Jove, Neptune, and Pluto. These three brothers divided among themselves the government of the world by lot. Neptune obtained the sea, Pluto the lower world, and Jove the heavens, but the earth was common to all. In lines 219-221 Peele alludes to the particular office that each bears.

226-234 Of the speech as a whole, Greg's judgment may well be final: "These lines, a mere jumble of participial and relative clauses, are clearly impossible as they stand. Probably something has been cut out at the end, but unless the text is seriously corrupt there must have been pruning throughout" (*Abridgements*, p. 106).

236-242 These lines are unmetrical and present a number of problems. Dyce and Bullen print the exclamation "Why, boy," as a separate line. Abdallas, of course, must be intended here, for the Moor immediately succeeded his father in defiance of the established law of succession. Abdelmunen we saw murdered in the first dumb show, before he could succeed to the crown; and Abdelmelec is even now, at the time of this speech, challenging the Moor's succession. This is implicit in the very plot of the play. The error is a careless one. Greg remarked upon the mistake and added that the "extra-metrical connective phrase 'Why boy,' like the similar 'Boy' four lines below, taken in conjunction with the unmetrical intervening lines . . . points not so much to excision as to extensive recasting of the passage" (*Abridgements*, p. 106). If the text of this speech has indeed been recast, one can hardly hope to reconstruct the original version by merely printing a new line arrangement.

239 *Rawe head and bloudie bone*: Cf. *Satiromastix*, IV,2,195-198: "Knight

attend: so, that my raw-head and bloody-bones, Sir Adam, has fee'd another brat . . . to defend boldness." Both were common names for a bugbear and were frequently mentioned together.

241 *bloud*: It appears that the *u* was turned by the compositor. Bullen printed: "Sith they begin to bathe [their swords] in blood." One hesitates to reject this addition since it seems to be supported by the references to *semitarie* and to *weapon* in the same speech, but the emendation has no substantive authority.

248 *bugie*: As emended, the line is metrically correct. Dyce called attention to l. 1094: *A bugie companie of inuading Moores*.

251 ff. S.D. This stage direction is printed in roman. The word *alarum* also appears in the plot, but here only, instead of the usual direction "sound sennett." The playhouse word *alarum* appears seven times in the stage directions of the quarto and always in directions printed in roman type: II. Ind.; II,1 and five times in V,1. "The natural conjecture," as Greg pointed out, is that the italic stage directions in the quarto are original and that the roman directions belong to the reviser (*Abridgements*, p. 99).

The plot direction has been explained by Greg. "Mr. Sam" of course means Sam Rowley who just a few lines earlier made his exit in the role of Pisano. The quarto clearly states that Pisano was captured, or at least that the carriage and treasure was taken (l. 259), and Pisano must have been captured with them. Therefore we must assume that in the production represented by the plot, Rowley went off as Pisano, changed his costume, and entered again "to announce his own capture." See *Abridgements*, p. 53.

273 *To seeke as Envie at Cecropes gate*: The allusion here is to the story of Aglauros in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (II,708-832). Cecrops, according to Apollodorus, was the first king of Athens, which derived from him its name Cecropia. Dyce suggested that *to seeke* might have been used here "adverbially in the sense of *at a loss*," but thought the line should read: "To *sicken* as Envy at Cecrops' gate."

II. Ind. S.D. Note on the stage directions for the second dumb show, ll. 278 ff., 283 ff., 300 ff., 306 ff.

The quarto preserves but one stage direction of the second dumb show. The details of the plot, however, agree minutely with details in the Presenter's comment on the show. Since, as Greg observed, this part of the Presenter's speech "seems to be preserved entire," it is reasonable to suppose that the plot directions represent the original version of the play. Just where are these directions to be inserted? The dreadful characters of this second show do not execute a "story" in pantomime, as do the figures in the first dumb show. The second and third lines of the Presenter's commentary, however, seem to be a natural introduction to the second dumb show. At what other time could Nemesis make so appropriate an appearance on the balcony? In

the same way, the three ghosts *follow* the Presenter's reference to the *murthers and misdeeds* that cannot be hidden: their cries break the *silence of the speechlesse night*. The stage direction about the Furies has been somewhat more arbitrarily inserted after line 300, but surely Magaera, Alecto, and Tisiphone must have been in full view when the Presenter called off their names. Greg has suggested that the "curtains covering the recess below the balcony" were withdrawn to discover the crouching figures of the three Furies (*Abridgements*, p. 54). Presumably each brandished her whip, or torch, or knife. The plotter, at least, took good care to specify the stage properties. The direction *exeunt* in the plot probably means that these figures of the dumb show leave the stage before the Presenter begins his commentary on the action of the second act. Greg, at least, asserted that the dumb show closed at l. 306. (Is it not reasonable to suppose that in all the four induction scenes preserved in the plot the stage direction *exeunt* means that the figures in the show leave the stage before the Presenter's commentary is finished? This is certainly true of the first dumb show.) The plot specifically labels this pantomime the *2 domb shew* and presumably it represents the original version of the play. The quarto label *The second dumbe shew* in the first Induction scene has therefore been rejected as the insertion of a reviser. (It is printed in roman.) The plot clearly indicates that each induction speech was illustrated by *one* more or less continuous pantomime.

280 *Divine Architect*: Unless some lines have been cut, the *Divine Architect* must be the *speechlesse night* of the previous line. (The silence of night may not hide cruelty.) As it is printed with the article and lower case letters, there is nothing to suggest that *night* was intended as a personification, but Night and Erebus were, according to Cicero and others, the parents of Death, Guile, Fraud, etc. Are these the *murthers and misdeeds*, then, of which Night might be called the *Divine Architect*? If the plural "Architects" was indeed intended, this interpretation is impossible and it must be supposed that some line has been cut from the text. Greg lists "Diuine Architects" among the "many corruptions in this speech" and apparently accepts the emendation "Dire Architect" (*Abridgements*, p. 107).

294 *Abdelmunens*: It may be supposed that this careless error was the fault of the reviser or the compositor. The Presenter refers, of course, to the ghost of the Moor's uncle, whose death was enacted in the first dumb show.

299 *Ramnusias*: The compositor was probably responsible for this error. The reference is to Rhamnusia, a surname of Nemesis (derived from the town Rhamnus in Attica). Peele could have found many allusions to Rhamnusia in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, with which he was certainly familiar.

322 *implores*: The sense of this line requires *implores*, an emendation that

has the support of Polemon's account of the Moor's desperate straits. Cf. *Second booke of Battailles*, sig. T2<sup>v</sup>. There are not many run-on lines in the play. If the compositor did not read ahead, the word *messengers* might have suggested to him the verb "imployes," i.e. "By messengers, that Sebastian furiously imployes. . . ." The sense of this reading of course is incomplete. It is quite possible that the compositor closed the line with the comma if he misunderstood the verb. The comma, however, may be original and has been allowed to stand.

- II.1 S.D. For Greg's analysis of the plot and the names of the actors in the cast, see *Abridgements*, pp. 54-55. The plotter could spare only two *Attendants* to serve for the *Moores and Janizaries* mentioned in the quarto stage direction. Abdil Rayes and Rubin Archis are the only *Ladies* that are given speaking parts in the quarto. Peele might have imagined other women attendants here as well as in l. 102 when Abdelmelec addresses the *Distressed ladies and yee dames of Fesse*, but is it reasonable to suppose that a practised playwright actually expected to see many *ladies* on the stage? Certainly they did not appear in the performance represented by the plot. Greg has commented on the evidence that the scene has been cut; see *Abridgements*, pp. 107-108.

- 358 *Resignes*: It must be supposed that some passage has been cut from the original text after the second line of Rubin's speech. (Just how did she commend herself to the Bassa? Note that line 357 is not closed with any mark of punctuation.) If "Resign" is original, the missing passage must have ended with some construction like

[. . .                    so doth Rubin]  
Resigne the token. . . .

Cf. a parallel construction in lines 360 and 363: 'Doth Rubin give. . . .' There is also reason to suppose that something has been cut *after* line 358, which is not closed with any mark of punctuation in the quarto. Lines 359 and 360 (and those following) seem to be logically connected. The sense of the passage is destroyed if one reads line 358 as a run-on line. It is necessary, therefore, to make the best of the quarto text as printed.

- 374 *the impe of roiall race*: i.e. the scion, or royal child. Like the word "bug," *impe* appears frequently in Studley's translation of *Hercules Oetaeus* (1566).

- II.2 S.D. (Plot)

Enter Diego Lopis : Governor of Lisbo<rn>e  
mr Rich : Allen : Stukeley : Ionas  
Hercules : & an Irish Bishopp mr  
Towne : Ro : Tailor : w kendall & mr  
Shaa : exeunt

The direction of the plot agrees with the direction of the quarto. The presence of Jonas is the only difficulty raised in both descriptions of the scene, for he has no speeches and is not addressed by name. Presumably Jonas's role was cut to reduce the length of the play, not to remove his presence altogether from the scene. Jonas speaks only in II,4; but that scene, which calls for at least eleven actors, makes heavy demands on the cast, and this scene does not. Greg therefore argued that if Jonas had been bodily omitted from this scene, in which Stukley and his followers make their first entry, "he would have been omitted from the play altogether" (*Abridgements*, pp. 108, 121). To Greg's discussion, one might add another piece of evidence that points to Jonas's presence in the scene. When Diego Lopis greets the *English-men*, he specifically addresses the bishop and *noble Stukley*. Then he says (l. 389): *And welcome English captaines to you all*. It is a vague address, but in the same way Sebastian means Jonas and Hercules when he addresses the *captaines* (ll. 713, 719).

- II.3 S.D. The initial stage direction of the quarto agrees with the description of the scene in the plot:

Enter Mully Mahamet, Calipolis :  
young mahamet & 2 moores w. Cartwright  
& mr Hunt

The *two others* that enter with Muly Mahamet and his family are specifically called *2 moores* in the plot. In the quarto, only one of these attendants speaks and his lines have the erroneous prefix *Zareo* (l. 514). This error cannot be explained unless Greg's conjecture is correct: that *Zareo* here indicates the player "available for the part" (*Abridgements*, pp. 109-110).

- 469-470 *wound*: The compositor turned the *u*. Greg wrote that "there is no sense to be got out of these lines" (*Abridgements*, p. 110). Jonson quotes in ridicule the beginning of this speech (in *Poetaster*, III, 4) but he omits these two lines, presumably because he recognized them to be incomplete. For line 477, Jonson has "fore-runners" for *fore-tellers*.

- 492 This single-line speech may be original, but the speeches of Calypolis have been pruned severely throughout the quarto. Her meaning seems to be: 'Have patience, my Lord, and thus conquer sorrows.' Apparently Malone thought the text was corrupt here, for he underscored *so* and wrote "serves" in the margin of his copy (now in the Bodleian), but if the speech has in fact been pruned, there is nothing gained by tinkering with *so*.

- 536 ff. S.D. Although the direction in the quarto is italic, it may represent a revision, for the *meate* on the Moor's sword was probably not *lyons flesh*. The Moor himself tells Calypolis (ll. 538-543):

This flesh I forced from a lyonesse,

...

Who when she saw her foragement bereft

Pinde not in melancholy or childish feare.

The description in the plot may represent Peele's direction.

569 S.D. [*Exeunt.*]: The description of this scene in the plot ends with the direction: *exeunt manet muly : exit*. Presumably the Moor in the original version of the scene remained on the stage to deliver a final soliloquy, a speech that has been cut from the quarto version; Greg observed that "the soliloquy enabled actors, other than the one who played Mahamet, to appear both in this scene and the next, since it afforded time for a change of costume" (*Abridgements*, p. 110).

II.4 S.D. The addition of the County Vinioso's name to the initial stage direction rests on evidence in the plot. Greg conjectured that Vinioso's role was cut because in the performance represented by the quarto it was necessary "that one of these parts should be taken by the actor who elsewhere played Zareo." That actor had already been borrowed to play one of the Moor's attendants in the last scene. Since the omission of the final soliloquy did not allow the actor time to change costume and make a reappearance here, one of the five courtiers had to be sacrificed. Vinioso's role was cut, and his name excised from the stage direction (*Abridgements*, p. 110). In Sebastian's speech (ll. 621 ff.) there is, however, a trace of Vinioso's presence in the original scene: Sebastian bids the Duke of Averro *call in those English-men*, and presumably he leaves to fetch Stukley and his captains. (They enter after l. 646.) Immediately after this command, however, Sebastian gives Averro the assignment *To take the muster of the Portugals* (l. 629). "Clearly," as Greg observed, "one of these duties fell to Vinioso," and Greg argued that it was the second. Vinioso is not mentioned in Polemon's account of the battle, nor in *A Dolorous Discourse*, but Alphonse of Portugal, Count of Vinioso is mentioned among those killed at Alcazar in Conestaggio's account of the battle. The spellings of "Lewes" and "Christopher" are taken from ll. 631 and 644.

571 ff. S.D. *Exit one [and brings in the Embassadors and two Pages]*: The plot reads: *to them : 2 : moores : embassadors mr Sam mr Hunt & 2. Pages*. That is, the plot indicates only that the Embassadors and their pages enter, but Sebastian's speech and the direction *Exit one* in the quarto indicate that someone from the court introduced the Moor's embassy. Greg suggested that this duty fell to Sebastian's page (*Abridgements*, p. 56).

596 ff. S.D. [*A brand is brought in.*]: The plot says nothing about the brand, but it is clear from the ambassador's speech that some grim ceremony must have been enacted on the stage: *We offer heere our*

*hands into this flame, / And as this flame doth fasten on this flesh . . .* Sebastian specifically acknowledges the *ceremonies and protestations*. I don't know how this scene was managed but surely some "Turkish" and frightful stage business must be imagined.

645 *Efestian*: i.e., Hephaestion, companion of Alexander the Great. The name became almost a cliché for the "royal friend."

646+ S.D. *Enter Stukley and the rest*. The plot tells us that *the rest* were Jonas, Hercules, and the Irish Bishop, all of whom have speeches. Greg thought that "the roman stage-direction a line too early points to a marginal note by the reviser." It is generally assumed that the "early" directions are characteristic of the playhouse "book," as the prompter had to anticipate the stage business a few lines. There is no reason to print the direction after the next line as Dyce and Bullen did, because the "original" direction may have been lost through a cut that took away some lines of Sebastian's speech (*Abridgements*, p. 111).

662-663 One must suspect the omission of a line or more between 662 and 663, as both Dyce and Greg observed.

667 For Ireland Stukley, thou mistakst me wonderous much. The meter of the line may be improved by emendation: "thou mak'st me wonder much" (Dyce 3) or "thou mistak'st wondrous much" (Bullen) but Sebastian's long speech is probably the most corrupt in the play. It is impossible to know just where there have been imperfect revisions and deletions. These first two lines give evidence of both.

689-691 These lines, as Greg remarked, "are evidently profoundly corrupt, but it is possible that the origin of the trouble was an imperfect deletion" (*Abridgements*, p. 111). If so, we can never hope to approximate the original version of these lines, though Bullen and others tried. See NQ, 10th Ser., 9, 181.

698 Disdaines the checke of faire Proserpina. This line too has been the subject of much guessing. See Dyce's various editions. *Disdains* is apparently used here in the ordinary sense meaning that Venus 'thinks unworthy of her notice' the *checke* of Proserpine's beauty. The sense of "rebuke" is not necessarily implied here, although it is not impossible. Some lines have almost certainly been cut from the original version, but the implications of the panegyric are clear.

708 Stukley means Gregory XIII.

III. Ind. A note on the stage direction for the third dumb show, l. 746 ff. There remains no trace of the third dumb shew in the quarto, not even an allusion in the Presenter's speech. Since the plot gives evidence of an elaborate dumb show, it must be assumed that a long passage has been cut from the original version, a passage that (like the first Induction scene) included a running commentary on the show. Greg conjectured that this passage and the pantomime stood between ll. 746 and 747, where there seems to be an abrupt shift in the Presenter's

speech. Perhaps even the remaining sections of the speech have been pruned. See *Abridgements*, pp. 111–112, and for Greg's comments on the plot, p. 56.

- 753 *Sucor de Tupea*: The *Xucar* (also spelled *Jucar* and *Sucar*) is a river that rises in the Sierra Albarracin and enters the Mediterranean at Cullera, the port town that E. H. Sugden identified with Peele's *Sucor de Tupea* (see *A Topographical Dictionary to the Works of Shakespeare*, p. 491), but there is no good reason for this identification. No sixteenth century map or gazetteer with which I am familiar mentions the name *Sucor de Tupea*, or any name like it. The very word order is suspicious if *Tupea* is to be taken as a town on the river Sucor. Furthermore, Sebastian and Philip would not travel all the way across Spain to meet at any town near the Sucar river. All the historical accounts state that the two kings actually met at Guadalupe, a town not distant from the Portuguese border. Polemon, Peele's principal authority, spelled the name *Guadalupea* (cf. *Second booke of Battailles*, sig. T<sub>3</sub><sup>v</sup>). Thorleif Larsen suggested to me a reading which I had previously entertained but rejected as too difficult to defend. Part of Larsen's letter reads: "I have always felt that *Sucor de Tupea* is the best a compositor could do with an unfamiliar word written in a hand not too legible. And when I find in Polemon the spelling *Guadalupea*, I am almost convinced. Peele probably copied Polemon's spelling. And so we get: 'He meanes, yet at Gua da lupea' (which the compositor read): 'He meanes, yet at Sucor de Tupea.'" This may be the explanation of an apparent corruption in the text here, but the emendation has not been admitted.

- 758 Dyce and Bullen broke the line into two, after *Spaniardes*; but Greg argued that there was probably some excision of the text here (*Abridgements*, p. 112).

- III.1 S.D. *Enter the king of Portugall and his Lordes, Lewes de Sylva, and the Embassadors of Spaine.*

(Plot)

sound      Enter : 2 . bringin<g in a chair of state>  
               [*mr Hunt*] : w . Kend<all *Dab & Harry*>  
               enter at one dore : Seba<stian :>D<uke>  
               of Auero : Stukeley : 1 Pa<ge [s] *Iea*>mes  
               Ionas : & Hercules [th] to <*them a*>t *anothe*<r>  
               dore Embassadors of Spai<ne *mr*> Iones  
               mr Charles : attendants Ge<orge &>w .  
               Cartwright :

Because it is probably original, the quarto stage direction, which is printed in italic type, has been preferred to the plot direction. For Greg's full analysis of the plot see *Abridgements*, pp. 57–58. Part of Greg's notes may be quoted here:

According to the initial direction in the Quarto, Lewes de Silva enters with the Spanish ambassadors. Since in II.iv Silva was dispatched by Sebastian to Philip with letters . . . to which the present embassy is a reply, it is natural enough that he should return therewith, and there is consequently good reason to suppose the direction original. . . .

In this scene, unlike II.iv, the Quarto makes the ambassadors enter at the very beginning, and they are immediately addressed, an arrangement which may be original.

As Greg has remarked (see p. 113), the plot arrangement, in which the ambassadors are later conducted into the presence of the king, is probably an "unoriginal assimilation to the arrangement" of this scene, in which someone from the court goes out to conduct the ambassadors into the presence of the king.

760-762 These lines, as Greg observed, "are far from satisfactory," though I do not think that "it would be easy to suggest emendation," particularly since the passage appears to have been cut. In the next line Sebastian addresses a single Lord Ambassador. This surely indicates that earlier answer has been cut. Something must also have been cut from Sebastian's speech.

780-781 For a contemporary account of the negotiations about the proposed marriage of Sebastian and the Infanta Isabella Clara Eugenia, see the letters of Juan de Silva, Philip's ambassador to Portugall, in the *Colección de Documentos inéditos para la Historia de España*, 28 (1856), 425-551.

784-785           The titles of the Islands of Moloccus,  
                    That by his roialtie in Iudah he commands.

I.e., the Moluccas, or Spice Islands, between Celebes and New Guinea, in the Indies. The Portuguese first settled there in 1510, but the Spaniards arrived later and made claims to the *titles*. Dyce 3 and Bullen read "India" for *Iudah*, but that emendation has not been admitted to this text. Jerusalem was sometimes considered to be part of the "Indies." Cf. Federici, *The Voyage and Travaile* . . . 1588, sig. L3.

785 *commands*: The sense of the passage seems to require a full stop. The last two lines sum up the Legate's speech. Does the omission of the period indicate that in the original version the Legate enumerated other *favours*?

792-793 The obvious anacoluthon indicates the omission of a line or more, as Greg observed (*Abridgements*, p. 96).

793 As Bullen observed, there has been no mention of any *holds* offered by Philip to Sebastian. Surely the text has been cut here.

805+ S.D. The vague quarto direction is probably original, as Greg observed: "I conclude that the author, careless who Stukley's confidant

might be, himself wrote the vague direction . . . The plotter was bound to be specific and chose Avero" (*Abridgements*, p. 58).

- III.2 S.D. There is no description of this brief scene in the plot. The italic stage direction is presumably original, although Muly Mahamet Seth does not speak in the quarto text. Greg reasonably argued that Seth's part might have been cut because in the revision the parts of Seth and Sebastian were doubled (*Abridgements*, p. 114). This scene is probably more important than Greg supposed when he wrote that "it is quite superfluous to the story." The scene serves to reënforce Peele's concept of Abdelmelec as an heroic, guiltless soldier. The responsibility of the tragic battle is placed squarely on Sebastian's shoulders; the young king is too ambitious and foolish in accrediting the false promises of Muly Mahamet. For this scene Peele had the authority of *The Second booke of Battailes*, sig. T4.

- 844 *seven holdes*: It is not known exactly which holds or fortresses Abdelmelec offered to Philip, but the *Treatise Paraenetical* states (sig. K2): "And besides falling to an accord and agreement with *Muly Maluco*, he [Philip] promised in the treatie made with him, that he would abandon the poore King of Portugall: and to that effect did the Moore promise him certaine townes in Barbarie, which he had before offered to the said Sebastian." The *Treatise Paraenetical* seems to be ultimately based on "Conestaggio."

- 845 *receives*: It may be supposed that this is the compositor's error. For the terms of the secret alliance which Philip *accepted*, see Simpson, *School of Shakspeare* 1, 122.

- III.3 S.D. Greg suggested that *a Captains* in the plot is a slip for "2 Captains." The quarto text gives almost certain evidence that there were originally two captains in this scene. Both the plot and the initial stage direction of the quarto represent attempts to reduce the cast, although the scene does not call for many actors. The Governor's *companie* was apparently cut in the performance represented by the plot.

- 882 *araie*: Some mark of punctuation is necessary to indicate the logical relationship of these lines. The omission of punctuation in the quarto possibly indicates revision.

- 883-885 Dyce and Bullen print these lines as four:

The six-and-twentieth day of June he left  
The bay of Lisbon, and with all his fleet  
At Cadiz happily he arriv'd in Spain  
The eighth of July, tarrying for the aid . . .

The text, Greg said, "is all right though the line division is wrong." He accepts Bullen's line arrangement (*Abridgements*, p. 115). An actor would probably speak the lines as Bullen divided them, but it is difficult to explain the mislineation unless we assume that the passage has been

excised, or revised, or both. It is not uncommon to find long lines like these in other early plays.

890 minded nothing lesse, cf. l. 752.

895 *Aulis*: One account of Achilles' anger because of the delay at Aulis is told by Euripides, *Iphigeneia at Aulis*, 810-818. Peele referred to Aulis gulf three times in *The Tale of Troy*.

899 *reseve*: There can be no doubt that the Governor goes to welcome and receive, not rescue, Sebastian. See the Captain's speech ll. 864-865. The typographical error is not hard to explain. The compositor made the same kind of misprint l. 1139 (*Driuc*).

III.4 S.D. This conjectural stage direction of course is based on Greg's penetrating analysis of the plot, which is too long to be quoted here. See *Abridgements*, pp. 60-61. Only Sebastian, the Moor, the Moor's son, and Stukley have speeches preserved in the quarto. Lord Lodowicke and the Duke of Averro are surely present, for they are addressed by Sebastian, l. 973. Lodowicke is of course the same "Lodouico" who is the chief of the fourth Portuguese legion, l. 1028. His name is spelled *Ludowicke Caesar* in Polemon, sig. X2. Calypolis is addressed in the quarto, l. 905, but her speeches, if she had any, have been cut. The presence of the others is indicated by the plot alone.

919 *crest*: As the text stands, the punctuation is misleading. The dependent clause is rather complex. Unless he kept four lines in mind, the compositor might easily misunderstand the construction.

927 *Ding*: i.e., knock or violently drive down.

936 As Greg remarked, "Before this must have been omitted a passage, presumably of some length, introducing Abdelmelec, to whom the 'Him' two lines below evidently refers" (*Abridgements*, p. 115).

946 *progenie?*: The boy's speech may have the force of an accusation rather than a question. Even if it is a rhetorical question, however, it seems that a full stop is required and that the question mark is to be preferred. It is possible that the question has been cut.

947 Possibly a line or two has been cut after l. 947.

959-960 I suppose that something is missing between ll. 959-960, and that *which* does not refer to the *forwardnes* (of the boy) being *tendred* (either offered or cherished) by the Moor. Note the shift from direct address (*Brave boy*) to third person (*this yong prince*).

973 *Lodowicke*: His name is spelled 'Lodevico Caesar' in l. 1028 and "Ludouicke Caesar" in Polemon's *Second booke of Battailes*, sig. X2. It is difficult to know which spelling might represent Peele's pronunciation; but since both spellings may be original, both have been allowed to stand.

IV. Ind. S.D. A note on the fourth dumb show, l. 984 ff. If it is objected that this conjectural stage direction ignores evidence in the plot that an even more elaborate pantomime was staged, my answer is that

the rest of the description of the dumb show is so seriously defective that one hardly knows how to interpret it. Of the last three lines, one can be sure only of the word *Furie* and the direction *exeunt*. The thirteen lines of the Presenter's speech are of no help in reconstructing the rest of the dumb show. The Presenter specifically comments on the *bloudie banket* (l. 983) and a single fragment of the original stage direction is preserved in the quarto. Greg observed: "The direction, which is italic, proves that the Quarto is based upon the full prompt-copy, and no doubt marks a considerable cut which has removed not only the description of the show but the Presenter's commentary as well. What remains bears no obvious signs of cutting, but since, according to the Plot, there were changes of costume certainly before and after the dumb show, the first and third section of the Presenter's speech must originally have been of much ampler proportions" (*Abridgements*, pp. 115-116). Greg also called attention to two lines in the Presenter's speech:

And warre and weapons now, and bloud and death  
Wait on the counsels of this cursed king: (ll. 981-982)

With these lines in mind, he included the allegorical figures "war" and "weapons" in his reconstruction of the plot. It was an ingenious suggestion; nevertheless, one hesitates to give so literal an interpretation to the lines and to admit the personifications of "war" and "weapons" into the dumb show. Note that the Presenter's reference to *warre and weapons* precedes the entrance of the dumb show. In Greg's reconstruction of the plot, "war" and "weapons" are among the last to enter. Line 981, then, can hardly be an introduction to these figures in the usual pattern of the Induction scenes. It is possible, of course, that some more specific introduction has been cut from the quarto, but it must be admitted that there is simply not enough evidence to complete the reconstruction of the fourth dumb show.

- IV.1 S.D. The plot is seriously defective here. Greg's reconstruction is probably sound, but as he remarked, the drum and colors "are ill suited to this rather technical scene of military intelligence, and they do not appear to be original" (*Abridgements*, p. 62). Therefore they have not been admitted to the direction of this edition. The vague direction of the quarto, since it is italic, may be original. Abdelmelec's *traine*, of course, includes Celybin and Zareo since both speak in this scene. It is possible that Muly Mahamet Seth was present in the original scene, but if so there remains no clue in the quarto text and his name has not been included in the direction of this edition. It will be noted that Abdelmelec does not directly address his brother (line 1017) as he does Zareo (l. 1051). Polemon's account of the battle merely reports that Muly Mahamet Seth led the right wing of Abdelmelec's forces.

The "picture" of the scene is almost wholly the playwright's (see *Second booke of Battailes*, sig. X1<sup>v</sup>). Celybin is surely one of Abdelmelec's spies; they are frequently referred to in Polemon's account (see sigs. U<sub>3</sub> and U<sub>3</sub><sup>v</sup>).

993 *Arzil*: This scene closely paraphrases a passage in Polemon's account of the battle in which the name of the town is spelled "Arzil" and "Arzill" (sigs. U<sub>2</sub>-U<sub>2</sub><sup>v</sup>). *Arzil* is printed l. 1057.

1006 *landresses*: *Laundresses* is probably original, since the line closely paraphrases a passage in Polemon's *Second booke of Battailes*, in which we read of "horse boies, landresses, and those sweete wenches that the Frenchmen doe merrilie call the daughters of delight" (sig. U<sub>2</sub><sup>v</sup>). By *landresses* we are probably to understand "prostitutes." The word *mozas* is used here in Nieto's original *Relacion*. The Spanish word "moza" means laundress, but also "la mujer que mantian trato ilicito con alguno." So Chaucer uses the word "lavender" in the *Legend of Good Women*, Prologue, 358. See George P. Krapp's article, "Chaucer's *lavender*," *MLN*, 27 (1902), 204-206. I am indebted to Professor Kökeritz for this note.

1035 *bargubuze*: i.e., a kind of portable gun or small cannon. According to the editor of the OED, the German name "hake[n]bühse" was transformed in Italian, by popular etymology, into "arcobugio" ('hollow bow'), in reference to the hollow barrel. Polemon spells the word in various ways.

1049 *ten thousand horse with*: The line is obviously deficient as printed in the quarto. Both sense and meter require another word. One may be sure that the word *horse* was intended since the line closely paraphrases this passage from Polemon's account (sig. X<sub>2</sub>): "He had also ten thousand horsemen with speare and sheelde."

1056 Something is wanting after this line, as Greg observed (*Abridgements*, p. 116). Abdelmelec seems to mean: '*The maine battell. . . . My selfe . . . [will lead].*' Greg suggested that the scene has been pruned throughout.

IV.2 S.D. In defense of his reconstruction of the plot, Greg pointed out that "the council of war is perfectly historical," and that it was indeed a night scene. Greg quoted from the *Histoire Veritable*. Polemon's translation tells that Sebastian, "assembling in counsaile the chiefe men of the armie that night, determined the next day, being mundaie, to offer the enimie bataille" (sig. X<sub>1</sub>). Greg also pointed out that in the play called *Captain Thomas Stukeley*, "we find an exactly corresponding scene" (*Abridgements*, p. 63).

1067 *fly*: The sense of the passage requires *fly*. Greg apparently accepted Dyce's emendation. See *Abridgements*, p. 116.

1091 *Trophes*: The armes or spoils of war, figuratively the tokens of victory, seem to be required by the sense of Avero's speech. This form of

the word is printed l. 1379: *The trophes and the triumphs of thy men*. No sense of "troop" fits Averro's allusion to the *kingly spoiles* that will adorn Sebastian's crown.

- 1092+ S.D. The plot indicates the later entrance of Dick Jubye and William Kendall. Kendall played the part of Hercules throughout the production represented by the plot, and this direction must "mark his entrance hot-foot with his news," as Greg reasoned (*Abridgements*, p. 64). It would be natural for Hercules to have the first speech, to announce the *bugie companie of invading Moores*, immediately after he had entered. The quarto text, however, has apparently omitted the speeches of others that come in with Hercules. Dick Jubye played the part of Christopher de Tavera in II.4. There Sebastian calls Tavera his "good Efestian." Consequently, as Greg remarked:

we have good reason to expect his appearance in these later scenes, especially as he was in fact killed at Alcazar. It is true that neither here nor in III. iv is it possible to fit in his full name, but we could not comfortably assume Dick Juby's presence here in any other part. We should also naturally suppose the Governor of Tanger, in chief command of the army, to be present at the council. That he should enter at the beginning is impossible, since Shaa, who played the part appears to have been on in the previous scene; but there is no reason why he should not enter in company with Hercules. [*Abridgements*, p. 64.]

Greg's reconstruction is reasonable and helps explain the abrupt six-line speech that is given to Hercules in the quarto. Surely this passage of the text has been truncated.

- 1105 *Larissa*: This emendation has the support of a passage in Polemon's account of the preliminary manoeuvres (sig. X<sub>2</sub><sup>v</sup>): "The Moores were defenced on the left side with the riuer of *Alcazar*, which serued them for a rampire or munition, and the Portugalls had on their backes the riuer *Mazaga*, that runneth to Larissa." By *Larissa* Polemon means the town Larache, situated at the mouth of the river Loukkos on the Atlantic coast. See de Castries' *Histoire du Maroc*, I, 488 n.
- 1135 The sense of the Moor's speech would seem to require the substitution of "their" *weapons*, and "their" *graves*, but there are so many corruptions in the speech that one must suspect either careless revision or cutting. The shift in pronoun reference probably means that some passage has been cut after line 1134.
- 1136-1137 These two lines contain three of the most curious textual problems in the play. Cf. ll. 291-292. *Bastards*, not *dastards*, is required by the sense of the allusion. Peele is apparently alluding to the monstrous issue of *Nox*, the sister of Erebus, by whom she became the mother of various offspring according to various traditions. Hesiod makes Night and Erebus the begetters of Aether and Hemera (*Theogony*, 123).

Other writers assign to the pair an issue of many abstract natures. Cicero argues, for example, in *De natura deorum*, III, 17: "And, if *He* [Saturn] be a God; then must *His* Father *Coelum* be confess'd a *Divinity* likewise. But, if *That* be so, *Coelum's* Parents (*AEther* and *Dies*,) are *such* too. As also *Their* Brethren and Sisters, who by ancient Genealogists are nam'd Thus; *Love, Wile, Fear, Labour, Envy, Fate, Old Age, Death, Darkness, Misery, Lamentation, Fraud, Pertinacy, the Destinies, the Hesperides, Dreams*; all which, they say, are the Issue of *Erebus* and *Nox*" (*Cicero's Three Books touching the Nature of the Gods. Done into English . . .* London, printed for Joseph Hindmarch, 1683). Peele's *Fiends, Fairies, hags* are not specifically named as the *bastards of Night and Erebus* by any of the "ancient Genealogists," but it seems reasonable to believe that the Moor's invocation was suggested by some passage in Hesiod, or Hyginus, or Cicero. The *Fairies* were questioned by Dyce, who substituted "Furies" (apparently because furies were mentioned with the beds of steel in ll. 292-293). Bullen rejected the emendation. Certainly the word *Fairie* is not incongruous in this context. They are sinister creatures as treated in the chapter "on the Phairie" in King James' *Daemonology*. The creatures "fight" in "beds of steele." I do not understand the allusion. The Rev. John Milford (*Gentleman's Magazine*, Feb. 1883, p. 103) proposed to read: "Fiends, furies, hags that fight *with bats* of steel." There must be some allusion here to a myth of the underworld, but a long search has not revealed the key.

1155 *Titans*: The text is certainly corrupt here, but about the emendation there can be little doubt. The Moor speaks of Ixion, Tantalus, and Sisypheus. It is natural to suppose that he alludes also to Tityus, the giant son of Ge, slain by Apollo and Artemis for offending their mother, Leto. He was bound in Hades while a vulture tore at his liver. There are many allusions to Tityus' terrible punishment in Ovid, Claudian, etc. There is only one objection to Dyce's emendation: it is difficult to explain the erroneous substitution of *Tisons* for "Tityus." The textual problem is solved, however, by another emendation, for Tityus might also be called a Titan. No poet or mythographer, to my knowledge, lists Tityus among the twelve Titans, but almost always call him a Giant. However, the Gigantes and the Titans were sometimes confused, especially by late mythographers. If Peele referred to the giant Tityus as a Titan in this line, it is easy to see how the compositor might misread *t* for a long *s* and *a* for *o*, and thus print *Tisons*.

V. Ind. The plot description of Act V has not survived.

1165 ff. S.D. *Lightning and thunder*: Cf. Lily B. Campbell, *Scenes and Machines on the English Stage* (1923), pp. 64-65.

1168 ff. S.D. *Enter Fame like an Angell, and hangs the crownes vpon a tree*: Cf. "The Plot of the Play, called Englands Ioy," in Greg's *Eliza. Dram. Doc.*, plate VIII: "9 Lastly, the Nine Worthy,es, with seuerall

Coronets, present themselves before the Throne, which are put back by certaine in the habite of angels, who set vpon the Ladies head . . . an Emperiall Crowne."

- 1202-1204 Both Bullen and Greg observed that these lines do not make sense, but the suspect lines must stand.
- 1212 As Greg observed "either the line is corrupt, or something has been omitted." It may be suspected that a fuller description of Averó's valiant acts has been cut.
- 1247-1250 The quarto prints these lines as one speech, with the prefix *Zareo*. It is apparently Muly Mahamet Seth that addresses his brother *Brave Lord*, however, as after the fatal battle is over he again addresses the propped-up body of the king (ll. 1377-1380). Greg wrote of l. 1248 that the prefix "and perhaps more" has gone (*Abridgements*, p. 119). This is apparently the only satisfactory explanation of the text, for it is difficult to understand why Zareo should give the order *Goe then to see it speedily performd*. To whom would he address the command? There are no other soldiers on the stage according to the quarto directions. Unfortunately the description of this scene in the plot has not survived, and reference to Peele's source does not throw light on the problem.
- 1250 ff. S.D. *The Duke of Averó slaine*: Cf. Greg, *Abridgements*, pp. 99-100: "Where a character is stated to be present, although he has no speaking part in the scene, the direction mentioning him is italic in every case but one," i.e. this one, "and this has pretty evidently been substituted by the reviser for a separate scenelet of the original."
- 1270-1285 There is a similar cursing scene in *Locrine*, III,6.
- 1301 *Italian*: Cf. the prefix *Ionas*, l. 1321. Hercules and Jonas, of course, were the English captains that were introduced in II,2. According to one tradition, Stukley was killed by some of the Italian soldiers that he brought from Italy (see the *Stukeley* play, sig. L4). Greg explained this error in the quarto text as another example of "the prefixing to speeches of the names, not of the characters who speak them, but of the characters whose impersonators can be borrowed for the purpose" (*Abridgements*, p. 118).
- 1354 *Ostia*: The ordinary port of Rome; there were confused reports about Stukley's movements.
- 1444-1445 A line or more has almost certainly been cut from the original text after l. 1444, as Dyce observed.

## SPECIAL BIBLIOGRAPHY

### Early Accounts of the Battle of Alcazar (original sources, 1578–88)

1578.

LES / VOYAGES ET / CONQVESTES DES ROYS / DE PORTVGAL  
ES INDES D'O- / rient, Ethiopie, Mauritanie d'Afrique & Euro- / pe:  
Auec l origine, succession & descente de / leurs Maisons, iusques au Sereniss.  
Se- / bastian, nagueres atterré en la / bataille qu il eust contre le / Roy de  
Fez. / . . . Le tout recueilly de fideles tesmoings, & memoï- / res du Sieur  
Ioachin de Centellas, Gentil-hō- / me Portugaiz. / A PARIS / Jean d'On-  
goys . . . 1578.

[This is the first account of the battle to be published. It is probable that this is not a translation, that the real author of the account was Jean d'Ongoys, bookseller and printer in Paris, 1573–1579, and that Centellas was only one of d'Ongoys' sources of information, if the "Gentil-homme Portugaiz" existed at all. The many mistakes in this text indicate that it is not an eyewitness account. There is no evidence that Peele knew it. That part of *Les Voyages* which tells the story of Alcazar has been reprinted by Henri de Castries, *Les Sources inédites de l'Histoire du Maroc* . . . Première Série—Dynastie Saadienne, 1530–1660, Archives et Bibliothèques de France, 1 (1905), 406–436.]

Nieto's *Relacion*, and translations. 1578–1587:

[1578.]

Relacion de las Guerras de Berberia y del Suceso y Muerte del Rey Don Sebastian . . . Compuesta por el muy Reverendo Padre Presentado Fray Luis Nieto, de la Orden de los Predicadores.

[This original, eyewitness account, from which the following three translations derive, was the last to be printed, in 1891, in the *Colección de Documentos inéditos para la Historia de España* . . . Tomo C, Madrid: Rafael Marco y Viñas, 1891, pp. 411–456. The manuscript includes a dedication (to Philip II), a prologue, and is divided into chapters, which suggest that it was prepared to be published. The original manuscript of the *Relacion* is

preserved in the Biblioteca Nacional of Madrid. Another contemporary manuscript of the *Relacion* has been found in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. See Castries, 1 (Archives de France), 400.]

1579.

HISTOIRE / VERITABLE DES DER- / NIERES GVERRES ADVENES / en Barbarie: & du succéz pitoyable du / Roy de Portugal dernier, DON SE- / BASTIEN (que Dieu absolue) qui / mourut en bataille le quatriesme Aoust, / M.D.LXXVIII . . . Traduitte de l'Espagnol en François. [decoration] A PARIS, / Chez Nicolas Chesneau . . . M.D.LXXIX.

[This anonymous French translation follows Nieto's text closely and includes the *plan* or map of the battle which was omitted by the editors of the modern edition of the original, Spanish text, 1891. The text has been reprinted by Castries, 1 (Archives de France), 437-505.]

1580.

Historia / De Bello Africano: / In quo / Sebastia- / nus, Serenissi- / mus Portugalliae / Rex, periit ad diem 4. Aug. / Anno 1578 . . . Ex Lusitano sermone primò in / Gallicum: inde in Latinum translata / Per Ioannem Thomam / Freigium D [octorem]. / Noribergae. / CIO. IOXXC.

[Freigius' translation follows the French text closely, excepting only unimportant details. Freigius did not reproduce the *plan*, but added a "Genealogia Regum Marocensium et Fessanorum," and a long preface. As far as I know, the text has not been reprinted or edited in modern times. A few excerpts from the *Historia* were included in Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations*, 2 (1599), 68; or 6 (Hakluyt Society, 1904), 293.]

1587.

The Battaile of Alcazar, fought in Barbarie, betwene Sebastian King of Portugall, and Abdelmelec the King of Marocco, the fourth of August 1578. Taken out of a namelesse Portugall auctor, translated into Latine by Thomas Freigins.

[This translation is printed, sigs. R<sub>3</sub>- Y<sub>3</sub>, in John Polemon's The Second / part of the booke / of Battailes, / fought in our age: / Taken out of the / best authors and writers in sun- / drie languages. / Published for the profit of those that / practice armes, and for the pleasure / of such as love to be harmlesse / hearers of bloudie / broiles. / [decoration] / At London / Printed for Gabri- / ell Cawood. / 1587.

Polemon omits the chapter divisions in Freigius' text, but otherwise translates the Latin account faithfully. He does not include the *plan* or the "genealogia." This translation is the principal source of Peele's *The Battle of Alcazar*.]

### "Conestaggio's" account, and translations

1585.

Dell' Vnione / del Regno di / Portogallo. / Alla Corona di Castiglia. / Istoria / del Sig. Ieronimo de / Franchi Conestaggio / Gentilhvomo Genovese. / [decoration] / In Genova. / Appresso Girolamo Bartoli, 1585.

[The almost unanimous opinion of historians and bibliographers assigns this work to Juan de Silva, Count of Portalègre, and ambassador of Philip II to the Court of Sebastian. This opinion is best defended by Castries, 1 (*Archives de France*), 400-402; but see Henry Thomas "English Translations of Portuguese Books before 1640," *The Library*, 4th ser. 7 (1926), 17-18, and Eva M. Tenison, *Elizabethan England*, 4, 45-46. Thomas's chief argument is that "Conestaggio was a real person." Of that there is no question, but a comparison of *Dell' Unione* with the published letters of Juan de Silva to Philip II (1577-1578) clearly indicates that de Silva wrote this account. See *Colección de Documentos inéditos para la Historia de España*, Tomo XXXIX, 465-574.

Political considerations prompted de Silva to publish this history, which is hardly favorable to the Portuguese, under the name of an Italian historian. It was by far the most popular account of the battle and perhaps the most accurate, for de Silva was active in the preparations for the expedition and accompanied the young king to Barbary. The history was translated into Latin (1602, 1603), French (1596, 1600, 1601), Spanish (1610) and English (1600). The title of the anonymous English translation reads: *The Historie of the Uniting of the Kingdome of Portugall to the Crowne of Castill . . .* Imprinted at London by Arn. Hatfield for Edward Blount. 1600.

There is no indication that Peele used the original text for any detail in *Alcazar*. De Thou and many later historians based their account of the battle on "Conestaggio." In 1607 Hieronymo de Mendoca, a Portuguese writer who was also at Alcazar, "answered" and "corrected" de Silva's account, in the *Jornada de Africa*.

Castries, 1 (*Archives de France*), 506-574, has reprinted Nardin's French translation of the first two chapters of Conestaggio's account. He has also printed the manuscript account of Luis de Oxeda, the account by Agrippa d'Aubigne (ed. 1626), the manuscript account of Duarte de Menezes, and the account by Palma Cayet (ed. 1605) together with the reports of two captives, one Italian and one Portuguese, but there is no reason to suppose that Peele knew these last mentioned accounts.]

### Other early accounts of the battle

1578.

*Portugallische Schlacht*, Leipzig, 1578. [There is a copy in the British Museum (9195.bb.1). It is a small quarto of only four leaves. Thorleif Larsen, who examined the pamphlet, told me that it contains nothing of value for the student of Peele's play.]

[1578.]

"The coppie of a letter written from the campe of the King of Morocus Mullie Melloque by a Jew, phisicion to the said King, and directed to his brother."

[There is a contemporary copy of the original (Spanish) letter in the Public Record Office. The Spanish text has been edited by Castries, *Histoire du Maroc*, Archives et Bibliothèques d'Angleterre, 1 (1918), 312-321. An English translation of this letter was printed in the *State Papers, Foreign Series, Elizabeth, 1578-79* (1903), pp. 164-169.]

1578.

A letter of Dr. Hector Nunez to Lord Burghley, about the battle of Alcazar. [The original text of this letter is among the Cecil MSS., Hatfield House. The letter has been edited by Castries, 1 (Archives d'Angleterre), 322-325.]

[1578.]

A Map of the Battle of Alcazar.

[Also at Hatfield House (Cecil MSS, Maps 1/66) is an interesting map with the incomplete title: "The rare and strange Battaile foughten in Barbarie near to Arzile, betwene the Kinges of Portugale Don Sebastiano and Mullie Ham . . . King on . . . Moluc . . . Fess . . ." The origin and provenance of the map has not been determined. A facsimile reproduction has been printed by Castries, 1 (Archives d'Angleterre), plate V, and see pp. 560-563.]

1579.

A Dolorous discourse, of / a most terrible and bloody / Battel, fought in Barbarie, the / fowrth day of August, / last past. 1578. / Wherein were slaine, two / Kings, (but as most men say) three, be- / syde many other famous persona- / ges: with a great number of Captains, / and other Souldiers that were / slaine on both Sides . . . [Colophon: Imprinted at London by Iohn Charlewood, and Thomas Man.]

[On March 24, 1578/9, there was entered in the name of John Charlewood, *The Barbarie newes of the battell there*. See Arber, 2, 349. This entry is assumed to refer to the *Dolorous discourse*. This anonymous tract is not an eyewitness account of the battle, but is largely based on the *Relacion* by Duarte de Menezes. The most important part of *A Dolorous discourse* has been reprinted by Castries, 1 (Archives d'Angleterre), 329-338. There is no indication that Peele knew this account of the battle.]

1585.

The Explanation. / Of the Trve and / Lavvfvl Right and Tytle, / of the Moste Excellent Prince, / Anthonie the first of that name, King of *Portugall*, / concerning his warres, againste *Phillip* King of Castile . . . *Trans-*

*lated into English and conferred with the French and Latine Copies.* [decoration] By the commaundement and order of the Superiors. At Layden / In the Printing house of Christopher Plantyn. 1585.

[This propagandist tract was written either by Don Antonio himself or by someone in his pay. Peele's indebtedness to *The Explanation* is discussed in my introduction.]

1586.

George Whetstone's *The English Myrror*, 1586, contains a chapter (the thirteenth) entitled: "The Calamitie, and seruile bondage of Portugall, vnder the gouernment of Phillip king of Castile, &c. by the adventurous battaile, and death of Sebastian, king of Portugal, the 5. of August 1578, and especially by the enuious malice of Henry which succeeded in suppressing the lawfull title of Don Anthonio the now reputed king."

[This chapter largely concerns the claim of Don Antonio to the throne of Portugal, but contains an interesting account of Alcazar. There is no evidence that Peele used this account.]

1588.

The *Elegiada* of Luis Pereira Bandao describes all the events leading up to the battle of Alcazar; the seventeenth canto describes the battle itself, but there is no reason to suppose that Peele knew this epic version of the battle. An eighteenth-century reprint of the *Elegiada*, "Fielmente copiada da ediçam de Manoel de Lyra anno 1588," was published by J. da Silva Nazareth, Lisbon, 1785. There is a copy of this edition in the Library of Congress.



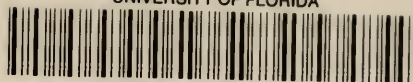


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